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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Hemingway, Nick Adams, and the Indians

by



Eda Krumins

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

Department of English

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 1991



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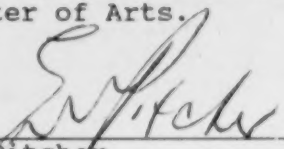
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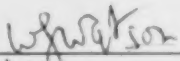
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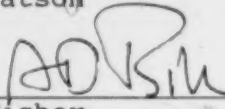
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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses North American Indian matters in Hemingway's Nick Adams stories. In nearly seventy years since the publication of the first, "Indian Camp," Hemingway critics have never studied his Indian references. This thesis uncovers one more, American, side of Hemingway's life from birth in Chicago's Oak Park in 1899 until the publication of "Indian Camp" in Paris in 1924, as well as an additional part of Hemingway's reading in his formative years. Consideration of several key aspects of Indian elements in the Nick Adams Indian fiction suggests that Hemingway was familiar with North American Indian anthropological, ethnographical and historical materials from the Field Columbian Museum of Natural History in Chicago. An examination of "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp," in particular, shows that Hemingway knew Indian materials from James G. Frazer's The Golden Bough. This thesis argues that it is Indian elements which help reveal that Hemingway draws on modernist traditions in writing "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp." In addition, that they re-define several accepted critical assessments of the Nick Adams short fiction. Also, Hemingway may have excised the opening portion, "Three Shots," before the publication of "Indian Camp" because he realized that readers could not identify Indian references. Moreover, examination of Indian matters in "Indian Camp" takes reading to the point where it radically alters the critical understanding of Nick's initiation, his father's role, the Indian husband's suicide, the story's locale, as well as Nick's development. Above all, this thesis reassesses Hemingway's "iceberg" theory and the motif of the wounded hero. Finally, this thesis illuminates the historical context of the Nick Adams Indian stories.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARCIA	Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
GFCM	Guide to the Field Columbian Museum
FMNHB	Field Museum of Natural History Bulletin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter I	
Hemingway and the Indians	4
Chapter II	
Nick Adams and Indian Initiation in "Three Shots".....	28
Chapter III	
Nick Adams, the Indians, and Initiation in "Indian Camp".....	44
Chapter IV	
Hemingway's Indians, Nick Adams, and the Modern Times.....	70
Works Cited.....	78

INTRODUCTION

The Nick Adams stories treating North American Indians are few, but highly significant for our understanding of Hemingway's achievements. "Indian Camp" and "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" were written in Paris in February and April, 1924, respectively, and published the same year in the April and December issues of the transatlantic review; "Ten Indians," written in 1925, was published in 1927 in Men Without Women; and "Fathers and Sons" was written in 1932 for the 1933 publication of Winner Take Nothing. Three more works remained in manuscripts, until edited by Philip Young in 1972 for The Nick Adams Stories: "Three Shots," the November, 1923, and February, 1924, excised opening portion to "Indian Camp"; the undated story "The Indians Moved Away"; and the 1952, 1955 and 1958 unfinished narrative "The Last Good Country."¹

Hemingway never discussed in print the Indians who appear in the Nick Adams stories (neither in his first novel The Torrents of Spring, written in 1925, nor in the 1930 story "Wine of Wyoming."). In spite of the fact that the most celebrated stories, "Indian Camp," "Ten Indians" and "Fathers and Sons," have attracted critical commentary, the complexity of the Indian matters in the Nick Adams fiction has gone unnoticed or undiscussed by Hemingway's critics and scholars.²

Detailed analysis of all materials pertaining to North American Indian scholarship and possible Hemingway sources surpasses the limitations of my thesis; my intention is to present a new method of re-assembling Hemingway's Indian influences, to illuminate references to the Indian in the Nick Adams stories, and to set a framework for a wider treatment of Indian material than the one presented here. Four chapters discuss several key aspects of the Indian element in the Nick Adams short fiction.

The present chapter investigates three periods in Hemingway's life: from birth in Chicago's Oak Park in 1899

¹See Smith, v-vi; Reynolds, Hemingway: The Paris Years, 168, 188; Items 439-95 for "Indian Camp"; Items 727-30 for "Ten Indians"; Items 382-85a for "Fathers and Sons"; Items 497-99a for "The Indians Moved Away"; Items 542-44 for "The Last Good Country" in Ernest Hemingway: Catalog, 22; Items 54, 62, 71, 74, 76, 86, 89, 91 in Young and Mann.

²One exception is Nichols, 33-35, which suggests that the Indian husband's presence in the shanty during his wife's delivery parallels couvade (a custom in many cultures in accordance with which the husband takes to bed as if he, too, bears the child). To Nichols this implies that Hemingway knew American Indian folklore.

to his departure for Paris in December, 1921; Hemingway's stay in Paris for nineteen months until mid-August, 1923; his return to and stay in Paris from January, 1924, which covers the publication of "Indian Camp" in April the same year.

Consideration of the first period explains how biographical circumstances linked Hemingway to the Indian and to the sources about the Indian. This prepared Hemingway to use the Indian material by a method of using facts about native civilization in his early fiction. Investigation of the second period points at possible anthropological, literary and other influences of the era on Hemingway's decision to select initiation as a subject for the first eight manuscript pages written in November, 1923, -- "Three Shots" -- particularly with respect to "primitive" concepts about time and culture. Examination of the third period brings to light events in American Indian history in January, 1924, which may have drawn Hemingway to continue work on the story published in April as "Indian Camp."

Chapter II analyzes the portion which Hemingway wrote in November, 1923. "Three Shots" holds elements typical of Ojibwa boys' puberty initiations which Hemingway may have known from Paul Radin's 1914 article "Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting Among the Ojibwa," as well as from other anthropological sources. Another source for Hemingway's material on Indian beliefs and traditions in "Three Shots" could have been Ernest Thompson Seton's 1911 Rolf in the Woods. Allusions to Indianness which I bring to light suggest that one reason for Hemingway to withhold this portion from publication in March, 1924, probably was that he realized that the reader could easily detect elements tied to Ojibwa boys' puberty initiation, but not the ones modelled on information from Seton's book. This made Indian references in the first eight pages redundant when compared to initiatory elements in "Indian Camp."

Chapter III presents "Indian Camp" as a revolutionary story in the Hemingway canon with respect to method and subject treatment. I show that the Indian material takes analysis to the point where it radically alters the accepted definition of Nick's initiation and experience by Hemingway scholars. My reading of the story covers two planes at once. One is an examination of Nick's initiation, especially of those elements pertaining to time and periodicity, and rite as reenactment of myth. The other is a presentation of anthropological information about North American Indians which in turn sheds light on Indian references in Hemingway's story. At the same time, I suggest possible influences on Hemingway's knowledge about the Indian: Ojibwa customs concerning travel by water; native customs dealing with smoking, obstetrics, and suicide; and Northern Michigan Algonquian lore and toponymy. Nick's spiritual transformation from a boy in puberty into a young man is

shown in terms of a complex of concepts, knowledge and attitudes common to Indian civilization, as opposed to a set from white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant American culture.

Chapter IV shows how Hemingway incorporated in each story Indian references which reflect the devastating impact on the native population of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of the United States Government's assimilation policies and programs on the Indians.

These aspects of the Nick Adams stories are important to examine for several reasons. First, they suggest the need for re-evaluation of certain biographical and critical parts of Hemingway scholarship as they uncover one more, American, side of Hemingway's life and reading in his formative years, and his knowledge of aboriginal America. Second, they bring to attention the utmost significance of "Indian Camp" for our understanding of Nick Adams's development. Third, they tie Hemingway's treatment of Indian material to the modernist traditions he uses in writing "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp." Fourth, they re-emphasize that interpreting Indian references in the Nick Adams fiction must begin with understanding the context of the information about Indians that was familiar to the reader of that era; it is now all but lost to the present-day reader. Therefore, studying what Hemingway's generation knew about North American Indians is essential to our understanding of Hemingway's literary aims in the Nick Adams stories.

I

HEMINGWAY AND THE INDIANS

To look into the portion of Hemingway's life which remains unstudied by Hemingway scholars, I begin with those Indian influences which for two decades shaped the man and the writer at home, in America.

Ernest Hemingway was born into a well-read, obstetrician's family in Chicago's affluent Oak Park. The Hemingways knew the Indian firsthand; they were familiar with native materials, and with anthropological and ethnological scholarship. The first contact with the Indian came to Hemingway at home, through his father, Dr. Clarence E. Hemingway.

Dr. Hemingway liked the Indians and was interested in native civilization since childhood. He grew up in the complex age of the late nineteenth-century which saw the federal government remove the Indian to reservations (Prucha 1: 179-411, 562-82). Scientific and technological discoveries brought on rapid industrialization. Immigration to the United States increased, while urban growth drew migration of national rural and town population to cities. American society reshaped, identified progress with civilization and Christianity, while an influential segment imposed Americanization as one, righteous, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture. Despite expansion of universal education, the era measured achievement in material terms, and many reacted against the ways in which modern times affected their lives. By the end of the nineteenth century the urban middle class emphasized the social demands of religion; the nation started experiencing increased secularization of behavior and faith. Small-town America kept to school and print for information, cherished the old values of hard work and family, but began raising doubts about cardinal precepts of Christian faith.³ The prosperous "villagers" of Oak Park made regular visits to Chicago's cultural institutions, advocated Puritan codes, and divided lives among work, family, church, and community activities. A religious man, Dr. Hemingway was also a man of science, for whom evolution and Creation were not contradictory doctrines. He was trained in the era which demanded professionalism built on broad education, systematic knowledge, learning in detail, and exactness. When the century turned, Dr. Hemingway's professional and cultural concern with extension of knowledge affected his attitudes

³For a discussion see Braeman, Hofstadter, Schlesinger, and Lynd in works cited.

towards Indians, on how he raised his son, and on the way he pursued his interests and hobbies.

Hemingway's father owned an extraordinary collection (not in the public domain) of native mound artifacts which he started digging along Des Plaines river, near Oak Park, when he was a boy (Sanford 21). To these he later added articles of the contemporary Indian: items of the Plains Indians' material culture were sent by Ernest Hemingway's two "aunts" (twin sisters-in-law of his paternal uncle Willoughby) who taught in an Indian reservation mission school somewhere in the Dakotas (Sanford 28). Years later, in 1956, Ernest Hemingway wrote to Harvey Breit that the Hemingways "ran the Rosebud agency" (Letters 867); he alluded to the government's agency in South Dakota's Indian Rosebud reservation where a mission school was first established in 1884 (ARCIA 1884: 89). The father's Indian collection was for Ernest the first exercise in facts, and a step into a civilization unlike his Anglo-Saxon, Protestant one. He had a cross-section through time revealing local and remote glimpses into the Indian mind and emotions, but Dr. Hemingway also saw to it that his son gained insight into Indian ethnographical, anthropological, historical and scientific materials.

Ernest Hemingway was a child when he was taken for a first short ride to Chicago's Field Columbian Museum of Natural History not only to see its natural history exhibits, but to visit its formidable Indian collection of the Americas (Sanford 38). The family visited the Museum regularly for many years; later, Hemingway continued going alone until he left for Paris in December, 1921. The Museum's North American Indian foundation was built upon extraordinary material on the Indian presented at Chicago's Columbian exposition, or "World's Fair" as Hemingway's parents called it, in 1893. Under the care of Franz Boas, material culture, photographs of North American Indians demonstrating traditional ceremonies at the Fair and in life, life-group exhibits, and dioramas, formed the basis of the Indian collection.

The museum also housed the library and the reading room. The library was stocked primarily for the use of staff, many of whom together with Boas contributed to the foundation of American Indian anthropology. But, it was the Museum's policy that the holdings be open to the general public, and, thus, of course, to Ernest Hemingway: the material was taken to the reading room which was well supplied, particularly with current anthropological and scientific magazines and periodicals, some as popular as Science, the Journal of American Folk-Lore and the American Anthropologist (GFCM 231-33). Many of the publications were written by persons connected to one another by either profession or interests who spent decades with the Indian, experts in their fields, public figures who were also

involved or participated in governmental Indian affairs and policies. A number of these works were known to non-specialists, as, for instance, the Handbook of American Indian Languages under Boas' editorship; his The Mind of Primitive Man allowed the general public to become acquainted with Boas' views on cultural relativism. Publication of both works in 1911 was a major event in American cultural life. In addition to ethnographical, historical, and anthropological materials, Dr. Hemingway introduced Ernest to the Indian through natural science and the comparative method.

Dr. Hemingway, an admirer of the nineteenth-century naturalist Louis Agassiz, organized Ernest's and his oldest daughter's grade eight class into a branch of the Agassiz Club (Sanford 32). In the age of vigorous geographic expansion, Agassiz' imaginative accounts of his voyages attracted lay audiences to natural science. The association Ernest belonged to was so popular that its regular reports appeared for decades from the 1880s in St. Nicholas, the children's magazine the Hemingways subscribed to (Sanford 134). Instructive for Hemingway to see was Agassiz' methodology of observation and comparison of facts. Simple facts enriched the understanding of general questions in natural science. In turn, this produced an evolutionary presentation of earth's beginnings shown through diverse, changing, recurrent, but extraordinarily similar patterns of geological formations, plant and animal life; the same was true for a variety of human activities in different geographical locales. Yet scientific facts were enhanced by the dynamic, vivid narratives of adventurous undertakings, which the expeditions were; the reader could easily identify with experiences, as if they were his own. The account of the one to Lake Superior that touched on St. Ignace in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, an area familiar to Ernest Hemingway as I will show later, included explanations of local, native life, traditions, beliefs, and translations into English of native expressions and toponymy. Hemingway may have known Lake Superior (1850) from the Field Museum library.⁴ His intellectual gain was that he assimilated how Agassiz' comparative method functioned and understood how to deal with its results.

Little did the eleven-year old Ernest know when his father wrote to him to compare specimens which "have some

⁴All references to Indian material which Hemingway may have seen, read, or heard at the Field Columbian Museum pertain to the library holdings from 1894 to 1922. I am grateful to Ms. Michele Calhoun, Reference Librarian, who kindly answered my questions in our correspondence from early 1989 to summer of 1990.

sort of history"⁵ about it (Ernest was going to buy an albatross foot for the Agassiz Club) that a decade later in Paris his mentor Ezra Pound would assert that knowledge of facts informs the art of literature. An admirer of Agassiz and of the nineteenth-century comparative scientific method, Pound may have given Hemingway the rule which Pound called "Agassiz and the fish" -- "examination and comparison" (Pound 60). That is, examine carefully and in detail, pay attention to the facts, explain, compare and interconnect them, discover their differences, similarities, dynamics, patterns and interdependence; the facts constitute knowledge, the basis for inventing fiction. In Paris Hemingway would also meet another mentor whose connection to Agassiz was direct, Gertrude Stein.

Stein was linked to Agassiz through her medical studies and her teacher, the physiologist (and, later, psychologist) William James who took part in Agassiz' expedition to Brazil in the 1860s. Her scientific approach to her writing material did not escape Hemingway. His letter of 25 November, 1925, to Edmund Wilson, written at the time when Hemingway was composing "Three Shots" with the Indian and the Indian territory in mind, tells us that the method's application to literature had sunk in: "Her method is invaluable for analyzing anything or making notes on a person or a place" (Letters 105).

In addition to Agassiz' work, Hemingway knew early through a variety of materials available at the Field Museum that the North American ethnographical and anthropological scholarship (which developed rapidly due to the epoch's interest in primitive life) had been not simply amassing data but actually salvaging material on the vanishing Indian culture. However, at the same time the late nineteenth-century American society had been "civilizing" Indians. Hemingway knew too well the results. His firsthand, immediate experience with the Indian was in Northern Michigan, where the Hemingways, like other whites, were but newcomers to the Indian land and culture.

Ernest was a child when he came to know the Indians at Walloon Lake, near Petoskey in the Little Traverse Bay area, in Northern Michigan's Lower Peninsula, where his parents owned a summer cottage.⁶ Indian presence and influence, as Hemingway's childhood friend Bill Smith remembered, was strongly felt there by the whites (Durham 428). Encouraged

⁵Dr. Clarence E. Hemingway to EH, 13 September 1910, quoted in Reynolds, Young Hemingway, 31.

⁶Only this, biographies and, consequently, criticisms, find as the source of Hemingway's fictional Indian "inventions." Documenting it is beyond this thesis's limitations.

by Dr. Hemingway, who followed the current enthusiasm for strenuous physical activities and outdoors life, and who hunted and fished as if he were a native, Ernest did the same. It was a discovery of experiences of distinctive complexity, personal and Indian. Hemingway could single out the nights to go jack light fishing, and learned the difference between the white man's row-boat and the Indian canoe -- he criss-crossed the lake in both for many summers. Jack light fishing found a distinct place in "Three Shots" as did boating in "Indian Camp." That Indian beliefs and customs were connected to lunar changes and to travel by water Hemingway perhaps heard from the family's Indian friends, some of whom came from the Indian lumber camp at Waloon Lake.

Many friends his age, like Richard Bolton, would tell Ernest about Indian father-to-son knowledge.⁷ Later, at age seventeen, Hemingway befriended an Indian older than himself, Billy Gilbert, who spoke broken English, knew about his people more than the young, and whom Ernest called his "Pal and woodcraft teacher, ... one of the last of the old woods Indians."⁸ Far from being mere entertainment, Hemingway's friendships with the Northern Michigan Indians were his link to the oral history of the Algonquians who had been found from Labrador to the Carolinas, inland to Northern Canada, the Great Plains, and to the Pacific Coast of Northern California.

Hemingway's closest Indian friends were of the Ojibwa, "Chippewa" or, as Hemingway spelled it, "Ojibway." They were the twentieth-century descendants of a division which, together with the closely related Ottawa and the Potawatomi, separated from the main body at Mackinac island in its western movement.⁹

Nearly half a century after Ernest Hemingway was first brought to Waloon Lake, folklorist Richard Dorson found native and other oral traditions blossoming in Northern Michigan. "Telling," transmitting orally events and

⁷Richard and his sister Prudence were children of Nick Bolton. Other friends of the Hemingways were the Billy Gilberts, Billy Mitchell and Billy Tabeshaw. Naming of Indians in Hemingway's fiction has contributed to some confusion, still present, about their identity. See Miller, 25; Sanford, 138.

⁸EH to Emily Goetsmann, 15 July 1916, letter reprinted in Griffin, Along With Youth, 23.

⁹General information on the Ojibwa known in Hemingway's childhood and youth is in Hodge, Handbook, 2: 277-81. Contact names, including the French "Salteaux" and "Saulteurs," varied in earlier periods.

knowledge, was typical of the (Little Traverse) Bayite "talking character" (Sanford 138), which Hemingway's friend Bill Smith called their "salient feature" in a letter to Hemingway in 1919.¹⁰ Hemingway also knew the Upper Peninsula. In 1907, he first went to the area around St. Ignace for a fishing trip with his father and his maternal granduncle, Tyley Hancock (Sanford 90); the place became the setting of "Indian Camp." In 1924 in Paris, when Hemingway wrote the story, he would put together what he knew of the lore attached to place-names of Algonquian origin in the Upper Peninsula, and check his map of Northern Michigan for accuracy.¹¹

Some eighty years before Hemingway wrote his first published story about Michigan Indians, two distinguished amateur anthropologists, the Indian agent for Lake Superior region Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and the missionary-philologist Rev. Frederic Baraga, recorded a wealth of information about Algonquians. Michigan put "Baraga" and "Schoolcraft" on maps when it gave their names to two of its Upper Peninsula counties. Baraga's 1853 work A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, irreplaceable in Algonquian studies, may have been known to Hemingway from the Field Museum. But of Schoolcraft and of Michigan Indians practically every American child knew something because Henry Wadsworth Longfellow acknowledged having used Schoolcraft's Algic Researches as one of his literary sources for his immensely popular poem The Song of Hiawatha. Hemingway knew about it: he owned the edition with Longfellow's notes since he was six (Brasch 223; Item 3959). Indeed, he made some use of The Song of Hiawatha when he was developing native concepts of time and periodicity with the motif of the injured Indian husband in "Indian Camp."

In Hemingway's youth the Longfellow legacy was present in the Bay area: Indians regularly visited from the Garden River reservation at the "Soo" (Sault Ste. Marie) for annual presentations of Hiawatha, and were occasionally entertained by Dr. Hemingway and his family (Miller 26-27). Like Ernest's Walloon lake lumber camp Ojibwa, they were the modern day Indians who had native and English names, spoke some English, lived on a reservation where they kept to the old ways, and for the Bayites performed the white man's work about the Indian in English.

Hemingway understood the essence of the Indian and the white man's drama: no matter how good or bad the white man's intentions were, or how long he knew the Indian, or which

¹⁰William Smith to EH, 13 November 1919, partially quoted in Reynolds, Young Hemingway, 94.

¹¹The map is in a private collection. See Reynolds, Young Hemingway, 40-41, and Hemingway; The Paris Years, 202.

sources influenced his work, the white and the Indian could only observe how the other behaved, but would never penetrate each other's interior life, never fail to be astonished at each other's reactions. This lesson, learned early, Hemingway would have taught first to Nick, and, thus, to the reader, in "Indian Camp." In 1925 in Paris, when he wrote The Torrents of Spring, Hemingway ridiculed those whites and those Indians who did not, or perhaps, like the Indians who were Americanized, could not understand things the way he did. The novel's Indian club (117) displays a gallery of portraits of the nineteenth-century (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Francis Parkman, George Armstrong Custer) and Hemingway's contemporaries: D.H. Lawrence and his host among the Pueblo, Mabel Dodge; one of Hemingway's favorite high school authors, Stewart Edward White; writer and Pueblo advocate, Mary Austin; the Sauk and Fox 1912 Olympic Gold Medalist Jim Thorpe, and his white coach Glenn "Pop" Warner; and the baseball stars the Ojibwa "Chief" Bender and the Mission Indian "Chief" Meyers.¹² As a schoolboy, Hemingway never ventured to explore the Indian's inner life, but was satisfied with using only facts about the Indian of the time. As an early example of this method of Hemingway's, one need only examine his reference in the juvenile play to the Ojibwa "moccasin game."

Hemingway's junior high school play, never finished, No Worse Than a Bad Cold, is based on Petoskey presentations of Hiawatha; he treats a theme of a never-assimilated, twentieth-century Indian, but shows that the Indian stays with the old ways, that he remains the man of his civilization. At the end of this play, which has two male, Ojibwa characters, Hemingway makes the old character leave the stage to go play the "old moccasin game"; to Hemingway's biographer Peter Griffin this implies masturbation, but further work on the manuscript will probably extend our knowledge on this point (Along With Youth 28).¹³ The moccasin game is an ancient Ojibwa guessing game, played with moccasins, underneath which are hidden marked bullets. The ethnographer Frances Densmore recorded and photographed this game in 1913, and again observed and recorded two versions in the twenties: one in which one of the players guesses the marked bullet out of four hidden under four moccasins; and the other in which one player tongue-touches (as a guessing sign) fingers of the other player who hides bullets in his hand (Chippewa Customs 114-15). Hemingway may have seen the Ojibwa play this game, or heard about it, or

¹²For Hemingway's reading of Stewart Edward White's fiction see Reynolds, "A Supplement," 100.

¹³For a paraphrased version of the play, with some manuscript quotations see 27-28.

have come across Densmore's photographs in her Chippewa Music-II at the Field Museum library (210-13). Reference to "moccasin game" in Hemingway's play is significant, as it suggests the ways by which Indian material came to him.

One of Longfellow's sources for The Song of Hiawatha, George Copway, or Kah-ge-gah-Bowh, an Ojibwa of the priestly class but a convert to Christianity, a prominent public figure of his time, also describes the moccasin game in his The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation (189); the book may have been known to Hemingway and the Field library had a copy.

Hemingway's connection with Longfellow's Algonquian sources further implies that Hemingway's Indian influences included Northern Michigan lore, too: John Tanner, a white Indian captive, who lived among the Ojibwa for some thirty years and became like one, was suspected years after his return to white society of murder in 1846 of the Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, James Schoolcraft, the brother of Henry Rowe. Tales about Tanner's life and achievements were perhaps circulating in the Northern Michigan of Hemingway's youth, and came to Hemingway's ears.¹⁴ It is obvious that Hemingway wrote his senior high school and more mature fiction with Algonquian material which he knew. Always, he chose to combine twentieth-century themes with facts about native civilization.

The 1916 high school story with a contemporary subject about two trappers, "Judgement of Manitou,"¹⁵ is an example of how Hemingway combines factual, aboriginal toponymy and words of Algonquian origin. First, he uses actual locales: "the Ungave [Ungava] district" in Northern Quebec and "Missinaibai [region of the Missinaibi River]" in the James Bay area. Second, Hemingway correctly translates and uses Ojibwa words: "Wah-boy [wabos], the rabbit; My-in-gau [maingan], the timber wolf; Manitou [manito -- Algonquian power and potency of life and of the universe]." Third, he shows familiarity with Cree. Both Cree and Ojibwa belong to the Central subdivision of the Central-Eastern division of the Algonquian language family; they bear linguistic similarities because they are of the same stock, which

¹⁴Longfellow's notes tell that he used material for The Song of Hiawatha from A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner. Later, in The Torrents of Spring Hemingway mentions the "translation of the New Testament into Ojibway" (123). He hints at the translation of Dr. Edwin James and John Tanner.

¹⁵The story was published in Hemingway's high school literary magazine Tabula in February, 1916, and is fully reprinted in Montgomery, 44-45.

Hemingway probably understood. Constance Cappel Montgomery, in Hemingway in Michigan, identified only the word "Manitou" as "Indian" and concluded that Hemingway's use of the word is perplexing, but she offered a curiously misleading explanation. "The word 'Manitou'," she wrote, "is the Ottawa Indian word for 'God' [sic]; a confusing point, since the Indians whom Hemingway wrote about in his short stories were Ojibwas" (46).

Internal evidence affirms that Hemingway knew Algonquians well. Except for Baraga's dictionary Hemingway may have known other publications at the Field Museum. He had available for quick, general information, the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1907 and 1910, where he may have found a presentation on "manitous" in Algonquian culture, but also concise information about the Cree and the Ojibwa.¹⁶ J.W. Powell's classification of Algonquian languages in Indian Linguistic Families (47-51) was available to explain further the Cree-Ojibwa link. It is necessary to remind ourselves that Algonquians were far from obscurity in Hemingway's youth. Among numerous studies, the sensational 1913 paper by Edward Sapir, which Hemingway perhaps had heard about or had seen in the American Anthropologist, brought them to public attention and kept North American Indian cultural circles on their toes for decades: this former pupil of Boas hypothesized that geographically distant languages Wiyot and Yurok, of California, had genetic relationship to Algonquian language family.

Hemingway's accuracy in aboriginal geographical terms and Ojibwa naming combines again with the treatment of a contemporary subject of an Indian who does not assimilate fully, in the November, 1916, high school story "Sepi Jingan" (Montgomery 50-52). Facts from maps of Lake Superior, Canada and Northern Michigan appear: "Michipicoten, Missainabie [Missinaibi], Abitibi, Mackinaw"; as does the Ojibwa name "Tabeshaw"; and descriptions of a truly twentieth-century Indian: "Billy Tabeshaw...spun a...quarter onto the counter of the...store.... Bill is not the redskin of the popular magazine. He never says 'ugh.' I have yet to hear him grunt or speak of the Great White Father in Washington."

The subject of a contemporary Indian reappears in Hemingway's fiction written in 1919, after his return from the Great War. "Billy Gilbert" is a short sketch about an Ojibwa of Susan Lake in upper Michigan, a decorated veteran

¹⁶Hodge, Handbook, 1: 277-81, 359-62, 800-801.

Hemingway uses the very common French orthography for the word which anthropologists, ethnographers and linguists of the era wrote also as "manito" or "manido."

of the Black Watch in World War I, who, wearing a kilt, returns home only to find that his wife has sold the property and that the family has left.¹⁷ In the latter two stories Hemingway invented nothing about the Indian life of the period; the process of Americanization of the Indian was a fact. Initiated by the public in the last decades of the nineteenth century when it established directions for Indian integration into the modern American society, the movement took form under the Office for Indian Affairs and its Commissioner who was directly responsible to the Secretary of the Interior and to the "Great White Father in Washington" -- the President of the United States.¹⁸ Already in Hemingway's childhood the drive for Indian acculturation was marked by the results of its theories and practices.¹⁹

Hemingway understood that his family had taken part in "civilizing" the Indian, but in a typically Christian well-wishing, patriotic way, characteristic of the movement. One way of assimilating the native was to bring to him the doctrines of American culture; this is what Hemingway's "aunts" who taught at the mission school did in the strictly controlled Indian society on the reservation. In fact, young Indians from reservations across the country were sent to governmental non-reservation schools, where their own culture would be replaced by the white man's civilization. One was the famous Carlisle School, established in 1879 in Pennsylvania, still operating in Hemingway's time (Hodge, Handbook 1: 207-09). The public associated Carlisle with its star athlete Jim Thorpe. Hemingway knew about Carlisle. "Carlisle Indian School," two Indians in The Torrents of Spring are asked. "Both the Indians nodded. They had been to Carlisle" (101). By the time Ernest Hemingway grew up, the push for Indian assimilation continued breaking up reservations (then considered obstacles to the unification of all God's children) and preparing Indians to become self-supporting, English-speaking, converted, American citizens with English names.

Americanization of the Indian was devastating for the native who could not or would not give up nor forget his language, customs, and religion. The young Hemingway was aware of that. Just like those who, unlike himself, had no personal experiences with the native, he read and saw

¹⁷The sketch is fully reprinted in Griffin, Along With Youth, 126-27.

¹⁸The organization is presented in Schmeckebier, 270-392.

¹⁹The most comprehensive introduction to the first two decades of the twentieth century is in Prucha, 2: 609-969.

photographs in the magazines, books and newspapers which abounded in the Hemingway household. Voracious readers and re-readers, the Hemingways subscribed to family magazines such as the National Geographic Magazine and Harper's Magazine, and the children's St. Nicholas. There was Dr. Hemingway's medical literature, including the JAMA -- the Journal of the American Medical Association, which his son read for years (Sanford 134). The parents took books, bound and saved old magazine issues, including volumes of St. Nicholas from their childhood (dating from the 1880s), to the summer house at Waloon lake for re-reading.²⁰ This life-long habit kept Hemingway intensely busy for one year when he came back from World War I, lived in Oak Park, and stayed at Waloon Lake and Petoskey. The Indian was preserved for the public and for Hemingway through print.

Hemingway would have seen in the National Geographic Magazine of July, 1907, the Indian photographs taken by Edward S. Curtis, a master-photographer and an expert in Indian affairs. He was announcing the publication of initial volumes of his monumental photographic documentary of the vanishing traditional American native of the period, The North American Indian.²¹ "Every picture must be an ethnographic record," said Curtis. "All phases of Indian life are pictured... with an object, first to truth, then to art composition" (483). To Hemingway, who would fifty years later enlighten George Plimpton²² that his writing brings to the reader first the truth and then the artful, the Indian of Curtis' art early revealed that the finished product is the result of a process of elimination of the superfluous, leaving something for the recipient to supply. In 1921, Hemingway's wife-to-be, Hadley Richardson, noticed that Hemingway's literary style "eliminated everything except what is necessary."²³ In 1924, in "Indian Camp," the epitome of his spare style, Hemingway left that "something" to the reader to supply. In 1932 he talked about it as "knowledge," in terms of his theory of omission, so often

²⁰See portion of the untitled manuscript of the discarded coda to "A Natural History of the Dead," reprinted in Beegel, 44.

²¹With the foreword written by President Roosevelt, under the editorship of Frederick Webb Hodge of the Bureau of the American Ethnology, those volumes which saw print from 1908 until 1922 could have been seen by Hemingway at the Field Museum.

²²EH 1958 interview in Plimpton, 129.

²³Hadley Richardson to EH, February, 1921, partially reprinted in Griffin, Along With Youth, 173.

quoted as Hemingway's "iceberg" theory.²⁴ But in 1907, those who like the Hemingways were sympathetic and protective of the native, who saw and understood Curtis' photographs, would rather not have had the knowledge of what was becoming of the Indian.

In the January, 1915, issue of the National Geographic Magazine Hemingway would have seen telling photographs accompanying the abstract from the annual report to President Woodrow Wilson by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, confirming that governmental policies identify Indian transformation "From the War-path to the Plow" with absolute assimilation on all levels of life (73-87). The Great White Father in Washington was ready to release natives from his wardship. Land was distributed in severalty, so self-sufficiency, hard work, individuality, family (no need to mention Protestantism, patriotism, and spoken and written English) -- as Lane's report reminded audiences -- produced some transformed natives. But, most maintained tribal ties to persons and land, indigenous mother tongues and oral traditions, and native religions, not without cost. Being the doctor's son that he was, Hemingway knew that the Indian's deplorable living conditions in close contact with the whites also affected the Indian's health.

The American medical profession, which Hemingway would see condemning its government's Indian policies well into the 1920s in the JAMA, could not have picked out an event as attention-catching as the world's Tuberculosis Congress -- visited by President Theodore Roosevelt and the discoverer of the tuberculosis bacillus, Dr. Robert Koch, held in Washington, D.C., from 28 September to 3 October 1908 -- to raise its voice. Commenting on the Indian exhibit of the Department of the Interior with the Smithsonian and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the September, 1908, issue of the JAMA declared that it represented "an abject lesson on the destructive influence of civilization on the American Indian" (1090). This commentary appeared at the time when Aleš Hrdlička, physician and physical anthropologist with the United States National Museum in Washington, D.C., who presented a government-commissioned study on tuberculosis among the reservation Indians at the Tuberculosis Congress, saw his general observations on twentieth-century Indians,

²⁴The "theory" first appeared in Death in the Afternoon: "If a writer of prose knows [my emphasis] enough about what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows [my emphasis] and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer has stated them. The dignity of movement of an iceberg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water" (170-71). Compare Plimpton, 115, 129.

their health, customs, and native medical practices published by the Bureau of American Ethnology as Physiological and Medical Observations Among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico. Hrdlička was a well known name from medical, anthropological, and governmental circles and publications, including the Science and the American Anthropologist, and Hemingway may have come across Physiological and Medical Observations at Field. This study confirmed that the Indian of the day who kept at a distance from the white, retained and strictly adhered to native traditions; to those customs which relate to native smoking habits, childbirth customs, obstetrics, and male suicide, Hemingway would allude in "Indian Camp."

"Civilizing" the Indian, as Hemingway could see, was a process of disintegration which very slowly blunted the native's memory of his history. As a result, Hemingway for years read about Indian mythology, customs, beliefs and life in, for example, Harper's Magazine. St. Nicholas followed suit for the young. But a child could have understood that even in those instances when the reservation Indian was forced to conform to governmental regulations concerning observance of American national holidays, native traditions prevailed.²⁵

A strident, influential part of American society, which but voiced the views of the majority, and certain government agents on Indian reservations, for decades opposed Indian practices of "heathenish" ceremonies, demanding that the Indian renounce them. Plagued by ignorance and misconceptions on one hand, but nourished on Christian fervor on the other, voices rang with hostility. For example, James G. Wright, agent at the Rosebud reservation where Hemingway's "aunts" taught school, called the venerable observance by the Oglala of the Sun dance "the aboriginal and barbarous festival" (ARCIA 1886: 300).²⁶ As

²⁵In July, 1884, St. Nicholas printed an article describing the Fourth of July at a Dakota agency with over 1500 Indians in attendance, where celebration -- extending from dawn to dawn -- included libation and limping walk, as if this day at the beginning of the summer was a native ceremony (689-95). In "Indian Camp" Hemingway perhaps shows knowledge of this account of summer celebration and limping from St. Nicholas when he alludes to native concepts of regeneration with the story's time-setting and description of the Indian husband, injured to the foot. Celebrations with native overtones like this, but particularly customs and religious practices uninfluenced by Americanization remained anathema for Indian reformers.

²⁶Also partially quoted in Dorsey, Arapaho Sun Dance,

long as the Indian religious customs and deities survived no Christianization was possible. For Ernest Hemingway, who would in "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp" model Nick Adams' initiation into young manhood on Ojibwa boys' puberty initiation and on initiations in "primitive" societies, public outcries early brought to attention Indian initiatory practices.

During the period between 1880 and 1921 nothing caught the eye of conservative Protestant reformers more quickly and hurt sensibilities more deeply than those observances which were the most appalling for the whites, that is the bodily lacerations of participants in the Sun dance of the Plains Indians, and dances with snakes in the Snake dance of the Hopi; the natives permitted white audiences to attend parts of those public ceremonials which were performed in Hemingway's youth. Hemingway may have been familiar with the Sun dance as it was practised by the Algonquian Blackfoot from Walter McClintock's article "Four Days in a Medicine Lodge" in the August, 1900, issue of Harper's Magazine (519-532). In the February, 1911, issue of the National Geographic Magazine Hemingway would see sensational photographs and read a witness' account of the public part of the Snake dance from the Hopi village of Oraibi in Arizona (107-127). From the American Anthropologist (April 1896) Hemingway could have known of research on snake ceremonials collected by Frederick Webb Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology on the 1895 field trip to New Mexico's pueblos. Also at Field, Hemingway may have come across ethnographical records on the Sun dance which George A. Dorsey, on staff at the Museum, observed among the Plains Arapaho (of the Algonquian language family) in 1901 and 1902. He could have understood that the Snake dance and the Sun dance ceremonials were initiatory, collective and individual, periodic, and religious.²⁷ Years later, this knowledge may have served Hemingway's fictional purposes in Nick's initiation and needs to be explored more fully in what follows.

Initiation ceremonies require that through a complex of instructions, one or several participants be prepared by one or more mentors to become a participant in specialized activities and concepts of his society. In the Hopi Snake dance the young men were prepared by "priests" for initiation into the Snake and the Antelope fraternities. This was done during several distinct observances which related the recreation of the Hopi myth of origin of culture to snakes. In the Arapaho Sun dance individuals participated

1.

²⁷The quickest introduction to the Sun dance and the Snake dance is in Hodge, Handbook, 2: 605-06, 649-52.

in a set of observances which connected their myth of origin to cosmological aspects of nature. Apart from timing, variations in the form and object of procedures, Hemingway would have noticed that there were common elements to certain rites in both the Snake dance and the Sun dance. The participant was mentored in extended preparation through fasting and seclusion. He spent time in an enclosure. He was either purgated by emetics, as in the Snake dance and the Sun dance, or purified in the sweat lodge as in the Sun dance. Induced by a shock caused by the lengthy ordeal, the person became inert. This phase ended when the individual revived. He participated in the observances of the Snake dance with snakes or the Sun dance's mutilations. Therefore, he completed the essential stage of introduction into his society's religious concepts of the awesome cosmic forces. Several initiates, the "priesthood," and assistants took part in initiations while entire communities participated in other ceremonials.

The Snake dance and the Sun dance were performed seasonally. The actual dance in the Snake dance was performed with peculiar leaping and hopping movements as part of bi-annual practices during the equinoxes. Because they recreated the mythical sacred marriage of the Hopi human male and female ancestors, which included the mythical, sacred snakes, and corn -- the Hopi staple food, the ceremonials celebrated life by symbolically connecting the human, animal, vegetative, and cosmic. The Sun dance, which incorporated mutilation, was one in a series of life-celebrating, annual summer solstice observances. By employing an intricate symbol and image system of life's essence in the universe, the Sun dance ceremonials, too, metaphorically linked the human, animal and vegetative fertility to heavenly bodies. So, both sets of observances linked the sub-terrestrial, terrestrial, and cosmic.

The Sun dance, especially, was seen by the anthropologists of the era as a set of ceremonials of re-birth in which the periodic and the religious merge. Both the Snake dance and the Sun dance were performed at a crucial time of apparent lulls in the main solar shifts; their symbolism reflected cosmic rhythms. If one sees all forms of life, from sub-terrestrial to cosmic, as a positive alteration of state, then the continuation of movement on the solar path, re-appearance of rain and vegetation, birth of animals and humans, is seen as re-birth. This is the perpetuation of life in our solar system which governs the rotations from life through that critical moment of illusory immobility into re-birth on a regular basis. Initiations conform to these phases characteristic of periodicity. The Snake dance and the Sun dance were re-enactments of portions of the myth of origin: participants mimicked rites thought to be initially undertaken by the mythical, divine originator. Hence their religious significance. They were

rain-invoking, aimed at ensuring from sacred creatures and forces the continuation of fertility for all who were dependent on it: land, vegetation, birds, animals, and people. The divine favor was obtained through sacrifice, individual as well as collective. In fact, each can be seen as collectively solitary. Sacrifice occurred when a person enacted one of the initiatory phases, or through real or pretended bodily mutilation or "torture": he sacrificed, gave up his "old" human person, or part of his body (or his clothes) or acted as if he was wounded. Once given, the divine favor was believed to obliterate death: the illusory death during the second phase of initiations, or the real death. This effected re-birth: spiritual of persons and real of the entire universe. The American public and Indian reformers disregarded the deeply religious implications of these sets of ceremonies, and excitedly reacted to those public rites where native dancers held live, sometimes poisonous snakes in their mouths and hands in the Snake dance, and to the voluntary, self-inflicted wounds and torture in the Sun dance.

Many Americans would rather have forgotten that the unfortunate white and Indian reaction to the collective initiations of Ghost dance in South Dakota in 1890 ever happened in the country's history. In the late nineteenth-century, a messiah who was still alive in Hemingway's childhood, the Paiute shaman Wovoka, started a movement called Ghost religion. It quickly spread among desperate Indians. The doctrine promised the world's renewal in paradise through collective re-birth during the Ghost dance. In the winter of 1890, unrest in Standing Rock reservation (located partly in North and partly in South Dakota), then in South Dakota's Pine Ridge reservation, as well as in bordering Rosebud, drew the United States Army; panic resulted first in the killing of chief Sitting Bull at Standing Rock, and then, at the Pine Ridge locality called Wounded Knee, in one of the worst Indian massacres in American-Indian relations. Hemingway certainly knew about the meaning of Ghost dance, as did many American children who read the Ghost dance song (435) in Ernest Thompson Seton's Rolf in the Woods (1911), the book Hemingway owned and relied on for information on Indian traditions and beliefs in "Three Shots."²⁸ This song was furnished by the anthropologist Alice Cunningham Fletcher, expert in Indian affairs, who was, together with Boas, one of the authors of the American theory of totemism. Hemingway may have known from anthropological interpretations of the Ghost dance that the events had parallels in other cultural systems, from James Mooney's The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, which was part of the Field Museum library

²⁸Item 1869 in Reynolds, Hemingway's Reading, 180.

holdings.²⁹ Mooney, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, could have been known to Hemingway also from Harper's Magazine and from the Journal of American Folk-Lore.³⁰

Ernest Hemingway had additional, more specific knowledge of initiatory religious ceremonies than the general public had, from materials brought to the Field Museum. Among other exhibits, Hemingway saw the "Hopi Snake Altar" and the "Antelope Altar" used in the fraternities' initiatory rites. They were assembled by H.R. Voth of the Department of Anthropology, one of the few whites to witness the secret performances in Oraibi in 1903; his publication on this experience was available at the Museum's library. For many years, the most stunning example of initiation Hemingway could examine was the diorama illuminating the spiritual world of the Pacific coast Kwakiutl Dancing society's religious ceremonies first put up at the Museum in 1904.³¹ It featured the participant in physical and nervous shock, with legs retracted into a squat, positioned away from the earth into an opening in mid-air, in rapture, seemingly immortal.

The Ojibwa had Midè'wiwin, a religious, priestly organization which Hemingway may have heard of in Northern Michigan, or could have been familiar through W.J. Hoffman's Midè'wiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa from the Field Museum. The initiate into Midè'wiwin underwent (as did initiates into numerous North American native religious organizations) experiences like those described above. Initiatory phases were repeated four times through an extended period of time. The participant thus moved from the initial to the highest stage of religious consciousness, and from the first to the highest degree of initiatory religious status. When the initiate would enter the phase of physical and nervous shock, he would collapse into a state of apparent death. The shock was so tremendous that the individual would be incapable of reviving himself without the intervention of the Midè'wiwin priest who "resurrected" the initiate into life. Through initiation, therefore, the participant acquired intimate knowledge of mortality and the life-principle, of his link to the universe as a living substance, and of becoming a new human being who has

²⁹Especially 928-948; See also Hodge, Handbook, 1: 491-492.

³⁰Protests against indigenous religions never diminished. Cries against use of peyote in southern Indian ceremonies reached the United States Congress in 1919 and 1920.

³¹The diorama is still on exhibit. See FMNHB, 18.

experienced the divine mystery.

In addition to religious initiations, the Ojibwa, as numerous other native groups in the United States, as late as 1914 imposed on all of its boys the typically North American Indian fast and solitary retreat into forests as a puberty initiation (Hodge, Handbook 2: 315). Hemingway apparently knew the details on which he modelled "Three Shots." Paul Radin, Boas' former pupil, in 1914 published material collected on field trips among the Ojibwa in the article "Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting Among the Ojibwa,"³² which Hemingway could have seen at the Field Museum. The young Ojibwa boys, prepared by parents or grandparents to survive the ordeal of isolation, fast, and vigil in a specially constructed wigwam in the woods, completed initiation by returning to their society fortified with a vision-revelation of a potency of life, a manito, as new persons.

Hemingway's society did not prescribe nor could it offer him any such rite of passage. It was World War I that "initiated" Hemingway and his generation into realities of modern times. They were unprepared for meaningless carnage devoid of all sense of spiritual purposefulness, or any humanized concept of manhood.

In 1920, when Hemingway lived in Chicago proper, part of his correspondence with his close friend Bill Horne reflects two aspects of post-War feelings in American society. Frederick J. Hoffman called one "the failure in communication of basic ideas" in "education... morality of public life... in arts" (25), in the country of "industrial wealth and... spiritual poverty" (30). America was experiencing erosion of religious belief on one hand, and fundamentalism on the other. As Hoffman put it, approaches to religion and faith became "shallow and imperceptive" (303). The second aspect is that in such a destabilizing, unheroic age and society which threaten man's spiritual vigor with atrophy, characterized by weakening of the formalized dimensions of the Christian Church's authority, a man of vision can do two things: flee, or steady himself if he arrives at a renewed sense of life, through traditional, seemingly stable and permanent cultural patterns, as the Indian did. "They ought to teach astronomy in every high school and college in the country," counterpointed Horne in a letter to Hemingway in November, 1920. "Then we would live more like human beings and Europeans. Hard to justify saving few minutes on the subway when you know the city of Chicago is only a wart on the world, no bigger than a nit on the nut of a gnat, and everybody knows that is the smallest thing

³²Significantly, Hemingway later owned Paul Radin's The Story of the American Indian. See Item 5429 in Brasch, 304.

there is."³³ Hemingway knew that for the unschooled Indian teaching his children beliefs connected to heavens was a way of life, and it would be reflected in "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp." Soon after Hemingway left the United States for Paris in December, 1921, he discovered that modernist literature appropriated traditional civilizations whose systems of beliefs showed a refined knowledge of astronomy. And he rediscovered the Indian.

In February, 1922, Hemingway bought the first edition of James Joyce's Ulysses, published with the help of Ezra Pound who had just completed his suggestions for revision of T.S.Eliot's The Waste Land. Both works, which Hemingway seems to have read in 1922,³⁴ dealt with modern literary treatment of cultures other than the North American Indian, preserving contemporary approaches to initiation, periodicity and religiosity.

Eliot's poem was published in 1922 first in the Criterion in November, followed by the hardcover edition with explanatory notes. The notes could have led Hemingway back to the Indian. Eliot's introductory paragraph to the notes stated his and the literary generation's debt to James G. Frazer's The Golden Bough; A Study in Magic and Religion (Complete Poems 50).³⁵ Clearly, Hemingway, who understood the value of primary sources, with Ezra Pound at the side thundering that his pupils should learn from "masterwork" and go directly to the sources rather than "read what I have said of these" (Pound 10, 13), could have hardly avoided checking into The Golden Bough, perhaps at the Bibliothèque nationale or at the Sainte-Geneviève. Undiminished public interest in The Golden Bough since its first publication in 1890, prompted Frazer in 1922, as he stated in the preface to the first abridged edition that came out the same year, to meet "a wish...that the book be issued in a more compendious form" (v); Hemingway, a dedicated re-reader, later owned three copies.³⁶ Indeed, we may note the

³³Bill Horne to EH, November, 1920, partially reprinted in Griffin, Along With Youth, 141.

³⁴Items 1986, 1987, 1988, show that Hemingway later owned copies of The Waste Land. Item 3439 refers to the 1922 Shakespeare & Co. edition of Ulysses. See Brasch, 112-13, 194.

³⁵"To another work of anthropology [in addition to Weston's From Ritual to Romance] I am indebted in general, one which has influenced our generation profoundly. I mean The Golden Bough. I have used especially the two volumes 'Adonis, Attis, Osiris'."

³⁶Items 2351, 2352, 2353 in Brasch, 133.

influence on The Sun Also Rises of another of Eliot's anthropological sources for The Waste Land, Jessie L. Weston's From Ritual to Romance (1920); that the Fisher King who is stricken in the loin is an analogue for the maimed World War I casualty Jake Barnes, has been pointed to by Malcolm Cowley (49) among others. Hemingway knew that this motif of injury and the notion of one, universal life-force discussed by Weston (and first by Frazer in The Golden Bough) applied to Indian perceptions he was familiar with.

Hemingway was as much at home in the comparative method and some of Frazer's sources in The Golden Bough as he was in the method and concerns which modernist literature drew from this work. The Golden Bough's references to classical civilizations were probably immediately recognized and easily assimilated by Hemingway: his high-school education demanded thorough familiarity with classics (Reading 40-43). The same was probably true with Frazer's discussions of numerous customs and beliefs in modern Western and "primitive" societies: not only from the National Geographic Magazine but particularly from the American Anthropologist and the Journal of American Folk-Lore at the Field Museum, Hemingway could have known about the extent and importance of beliefs and traditional behavior in America and elsewhere. Beyond doubt, crucial to Hemingway was that Frazer amply drew examples from North American Indian materials, some of which were familiar to Hemingway as I will show in Chapters II and III.³⁷

The Golden Bough is an anthropological study in the evolution of man's magic and religious development revolving around the myth and the ritual of death and resurrection in traditional societies: the dying and reviving deity or man-god, regicide or replacement and mock-killing or revival of sacred priest-kings, "death" and rebirth of the initiate. They tie, according to Frazer, to a variety of seasonal vegetative, animal, and human life-ensuring and life-promoting myths and rituals whose form, content or elements in the end shed light on modern Christianity. Frazer showed how anthropology and related studies provide a basis for interpreting mankind's non-Christian religions, traditional customs, beliefs, rites, myths, heroes, and gods, throughout history. This, in turn, made it possible for Frazer to emphasize the relevance of traditional patterns for an understanding of modern Western society's Christian concepts, symbols and ceremonies, as well as of numerous festivities, practices, credences and superstitions still observed and held as traditional elements in modern,

³⁷The full extent of Frazer's use of North American materials is best seen in XII: 3-144. Roman numerals in my study indicate volumes of The Golden Bough (1911) as noted in XII: 147.

everyday life.

The mere fact that modern Christianity developed from traditional civilizations, and that its concepts, myths and rituals had remarkable similarities with other religions and cultures, illuminated Christianity's deep, rich roots, and reinforced its ties to mankind. Religious scepticism and the detached scholarly attitude of the epoch, however, permitted Frazer to see unfavourably the rudimentary "primitive" elements in modern life. He also placed Christianity within historical, anthropological, mythical, and religious contexts. Indeed, the last pages of the closing volume to The Golden Bough conclude Frazer's investigation -- that started with traditional, pre-Christian beliefs and customs relating to the myths and rituals of death and rebirth of the Roman sacred priest-kings at the goddess Diana's sanctuary at Nemi, and ended with the mythical Norse deity Balder -- with a parallel to the crucifixion and belief in resurrection of "the popular ... preacher." Revelatory as this ending is of the modern era's doubts in the godhead's existence, at the same time it brings to attention the traditional man's utter religious devotion to and belief in mythical and ritual re-birth of his deities, of life (his own, his society's, and his cosmos) as well as of the "primitive" man's conduct.

Three concepts that emerged from The Golden Bough were of interest to Hemingway; he developed them in "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp." The first involves the universal principle of life in life-enhancing myths and rituals, particularly those of the man-god's and initiate's death and resurrection, the sacred marriages of gods and goddesses or their representatives, and ceremonial timing. The second reveals that time which modern man feels accumulating as if in an evolutionary line, irrevocable, is in many traditional societies seen as a cyclic movement that re-generates time and perpetuates life. The third suggests that it is empiricism which is a condition of understanding the new, twentieth-century era.

As a result, Hemingway subjected, as did Joyce in Ulysses and Eliot in The Waste Land, Frazer's method, anthropological and other scholarship, myth, ritual, and history, themes, ideas, motifs, contexts, and information to the modernist literary metamorphosis in order to convey the following key themes in "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp." First, that the modern man's spirituality in the twenties is threatened to the point of his losing the capacity for understanding what certain myths and rituals reveal to mankind, particularly the significance of the notion of resurrection to man. Second, that his spiritual survival is inherently dependent upon this understanding. Therefore, even an unconscious re-enactment of a traditional rite of death and re-birth as initiation can provide a modern young man with an experience of mankind's archaic, pre-Christian

religious ceremonies that fulfil his search for their significance; the search is at the same time the search for the self, for the mystery of life, perhaps of the divine mystery, or the divine in man. Third, that if a modern young explorer has the capacity to evolve into a finder, the one able to comprehend the very essence of life and his ties to it, he achieves illumination, becomes spiritually fertile, re-born. Significantly, in "Indian Camp" Nick becomes caught in an initiation which is old by origin, but thoroughly contemporary to the North American Indian of the twenties.

Central also to the modernism of "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp" is development of the mythical and ritual planes, through symbolism and allusions, multiple themes, shifting and recurrent motifs, linear and cyclic patterns, as Hemingway saw elaborated by masters such as Eliot, or Hemingway's close friend Joyce. Ernest Hemingway (like Joyce and Eliot) avoids explicit statement; it is the Hemingway reader who probes through the apparent simplicity of Hemingway's modernist style, and evokes the implicit, the hidden "iceberg."

In November, 1923, Hemingway made the first attempt at modelling Nick's initiation on Ojibwa boy's puberty initiations, but wrote only eight pages. In December, he briefly visited Oak Park and Chicago where he perhaps checked on the Indian material he needed for the story. Then, outstanding historical events may have drawn him to continue that manuscript portion which we know as "Indian Camp."

The American Indian suddenly came into national public focus. Just as Hemingway was returning to Paris, on 29 January, 1924, Representative Homer P. Snyder of New York introduced the bill which gave discretionary authority to the Secretary of State to issue certificates of citizenship to those Indians who applied for it. Since the 1880s the movement for Indian citizenship had been gaining momentum, but in 1924 some one-third of Indians born in the United States were still not citizens. With this bill, which was an event of national importance, the Indian was literally one step from achieving United States citizenship.

Even in Paris Hemingway could not escape the impact of this event. The Indian, whom Hemingway knew for a quarter of a century, and saw deplorably transformed, was dear to his heart. Granting citizenship was a civilized act bestowed upon survivors of America's institutionalizing the idea of manifest destiny, and it would resound in Hemingway's Nick Adams Indian fiction. In April, 1924, "Indian Camp" conveyed to the reader that at the beginning of the twentieth century the external assimilation of certain Indians did not yet affect the inner workings of traditional Indian values. On 2 June, 1924, when the Snyder bill became law, ensuring that all Indians were citizens, Hemingway's point became clear: acculturation did not bring total assimilation, and the

United States Indian legally remained a person with ties to tribal laws and identity.³⁸

There are no Hemingway notes that we are aware of at present indicating sources for "Indian Camp": he did not include explanatory notes. His correspondence with Horace Liveright, who would in 1925 publish "Indian Camp" in In Our Time, reminds us that Hemingway wanted to live on the sales of his work in the English speaking market. "All I want is to have stuff published as I write it," wrote Hemingway, "and be paid for it" (Letters 163). For that reason perhaps Hemingway did not need notes of the type which Eliot used, as they, as much as Joyce's allusions, made strong demands on the reader, but restricted large audiences. Hemingway was a true empiricist in many ways, not an armchair scholar, and his assuring Liveright that his work "will be praised by highbrows," but that "anybody with a high-school education" (Letters 155) could read it reveals how practical Hemingway was when sales were in question. Hemingway was naturally referring to his high-school education which taught pupils flexibility and competence in using the common tools of self-education starting with general reference works, etymological dictionaries, and encyclopedias.³⁹ Bearing in mind the level of general education of the era, the scholarship reflected in children's literature, and whatever other knowledge of Indians the Hemingway reader accumulated, he could have easily recognized Hemingway's Indian allusions and checked on the Indian material which was in English.

But those who continued wrestling with Ulysses or The Waste Land did not do the same with "Indian Camp," and that for a good reason. Hemingway was the exact opposite of his public persona, a reserved writer, who found sources in reading, and never talked about his work or influences in less than a cryptic way. In 1925 he made a decision to avoid pin-pointing his sources, to retain them so well concealed that they will be "perfectly safe."⁴⁰ Later, Hemingway elaborated it into a practice. For this reason also we should not be surprised at any new evidence of Hemingway's sources and craftsmanship. Neither should we be surprised that Hemingway thought that to find Americanness, of which the Indian is an indivisible part, one must look for it in America.

Only five years after the publication of "Indian Camp"

³⁸The Indian Citizenship Act is reprinted in Washburn, 3: 2209.

³⁹See Hemingway's high-school curriculum and school's library acquisitions in Reynolds, Reading, 39-43.

⁴⁰Cited in Reynolds, Young Hemingway, 49, and Hemingway: The Paris Years, 127.

Hemingway wrote about how he felt when an American writer does not see writing about America the way Hemingway did. He derided [American] "citizens [writers]" who wrote about and explained "the soul of America" (a serious word he could not handle lightly), and its symbol, Indian corn, which became "a phallic symbol" to writers fed on "books from Vienna" (Beegel 59). Hemingway, who thought that he wrote about the America of his "own heart" in the way some writers never understood, resented that he was also considered ignorant on subjects with which he never explicitly dealt. The Indian is certainly a subject he never emphatically treated. Hemingway put on paper a bitter challenge for all of those who did not pay careful attention to what he was writing about: "To hell with them. We will fool them" (Beegel 59). Hemingway's letter of 31 March, 1925, to Liveright, discussing the publication of "Indian Camp," takes us to the root of Hemingway's attitude towards careless readers. Hemingway demanded that "no alterations of words should be made without my approval....the stories are written so tight and so hard that the alteration of a word can throw an entire story off key [my emphasis]" (Letters 154).

II

NICK ADAMS AND INDIAN INITIATION IN "THREE SHOTS"

Nick's initiation in "Three Shots" reflects the influence on Hemingway of anthropological material dealing with Ojibwa boys' and native puberty initiations. The present chapter illustrates how familiarity with Frazer's postulates in The Golden Bough involving myths and rituals of cyclical dying and resurrecting deities and the initiate's "death" and re-birth, the mythical sacred marriages of gods and goddesses or their ritual substitutes, and ceremonial timing, but especially with anthropological North American Indian material known to Hemingway, enrich our experience of reading "Three Shots."

An examination of the story's subject, the setting, the imagery, the words, the motifs and the themes relating to Ojibwa boys' and North American Indian puberty initiations suggests that one of the principal sources which could have served Hemingway as anthropological exemplar for Ojibwa boys' initiation may have been Paul Radin's article "Some Aspects of Puberty fasting among the Ojibwa." Moreover, the imagery connected to natural phenomena is related to Algonquian mythology and to native knowledge about nature and here Seton's Rolf in the Woods could have provided Hemingway with immediate anthropological models. Hemingway uses these sources to assure the reader that Nick disengages from fear of death and begins to awake to signs of life.

This ties to the cardinal theme explored in "Three Shots:" once the early twentieth-century Western, Christian male child enters puberty, his condition for becoming a spiritually alive being is to survive this technological epoch's threat to his humanity. This means that the male youth's very existence depends upon spiritual fertility. It lies in an unconscious search for the self, which ultimately becomes recognition of one, universal life-principle and its divine significance to man. The insight is an enlightenment, the birth of a totally new spiritual person, as the result of unknowingly re-enacting a "primitive" ritual, an initiation, an equivalent of the myth of divine death and resurrection. In essence, there is an effort on the part of Hemingway to emphasize less the Christian ritual's powerlessness to provide modern young men with illumination than the strength of non-Christian ritual, the traditional societies' attitudes and rules of conduct, and their importance to the spiritual fruition of Western, Christian male youngsters.

In "Three Shots" Hemingway starts developing Nick into a hero who gradually evolves into this role through the heroic undertaking (and achievement in "Indian Camp") in

"the realm of thought," as Frazer put it in The Golden Bough's ending page. In this way, Hemingway presents Nick's initiation in "Three Shots" as a ritual of recognition of both physical processes and spiritual developments. On the former level he has Nick re-enact four phases characteristic of Ojibwa boys' puberty initiation; at the same time Hemingway links Nick to cosmic rhythms. On the latter, Nick is led through two stages of spiritual growth also typical of initiation. In the first stage, and despite the fact that Nick passes through initiation's three phases, he is unable to recognize either the complete, universal matrix of life's disappearance and revival or the religious spiritualization of the same: Nick apprehends only its Christian one-dimensional aspect, human mortality. In the second stage, Hemingway shows Nick slowly awakening to signs of life through Ojibwa initiation's fourth (and last) phase.

The modernist traditions Hemingway uses in writing this story are unmistakeable. In addition to the ones pointed out in the first chapter, I bring to attention here the parallel between Indian and American civilizations, Hemingway's use of the local in "Three Shots" to emphasize the universal later in "Indian Camp," Nick as a hero figure, the theme of illumination, and particularly the "hidden" part of the "iceberg."

The manuscript that we know as "Three Shots" was written in November, 1923. Although Hemingway wrote the continuing part -- "Indian Camp" -- in February, 1924, in Paris, he considered both as one story. But, a week or two before publication in the April, 1924, issue of the transatlantic review, Hemingway lopped off "Three Shots," without having realized, of course, that he created a possibility for critics later to suggest several reasons for excision (to be discussed in my conclusion). Contrary to the accepted critical assumptions, the earlier manuscript's Indian content suggests that Hemingway probably cut "Three Shots" because he realized that the reader could not identify the nature images as Indian-inspired. The accord between these images and initiation was lost; it left a gap in the internally consistent development of Indian elements throughout both manuscript portions. At this point, however, it is necessary to "retell" the story.

Late in the evening on the lakeshore not far from where the Indians are, a boy called simply Nick undresses in the tent while his father and Uncle George sit by the fire.¹

¹In the manuscript Hemingway wrote "the guides," replaced it first with "uncle Joe," and then with "Uncle George." The original idea seems to have been to put Nick and his father immediately in the company of Indians, at a camping site where the camp fire -- and the boat on the lake when they fish with jack light -- could be seen by Indian

Nick remembers how embarrassed he was the previous night when he shot three times from the rifle to recall his father and uncle to the camp after they left him to go jack light fishing on the lake. Nick was terrified of the forest that night because it reminded him of the time, a few weeks earlier, when the words of a hymn he had heard at church made him realize that he must die one day. He had then stayed up all night reading Robinson Crusoe in order not to remember that "some day the silver chord"² would snap. When the panic of remembering this became unbearable in the forest, Nick fired. In the morning, calmed again by the father's suggestions that Nick may have been frightened by the noise produced by two trees rubbing, and encouraged by the father's words that not even lightning can harm Nick if he goes under the beech tree, Nick managed to keep fear out of his mind during the day until this evening. Nick hears his father talk to someone on the shore, and then the father tells him to put his clothes and his coat on.

Hemingway sets the subject when he introduces the setting typical of Ojibwa boys' puberty initiation and its four characteristic phases: first, separation from mentors; secondly, the initiate's withdrawal into a forest in a specially constructed wigwam where he continues his fast and copes with fear; thirdly, simulated death; and, finally, the fourth phase in awakening. The initial phases are presented in the first five paragraphs, phase three in the sixth paragraph, and "awakening" in the rest of the story.

The first paragraph presents Nick's initiation with emphasis on its alliance to space, to time, to renewal and enlightenment. The theme of enlightenment continues with the theme of Nick's Indian legacy as in the second paragraph Hemingway links Nick's initiation to cosmological periodicity with allusions to timing of native rituals and myths connected to lunar changes. The third paragraph's second part, the fourth, and the fifth paragraph contain descriptions of Nick's fear of death as a parallel to fear in initiation's second phase. The theme of Nick's union with life continues here as well as in the last section of the story, where allusions to life are contained first in the

barkpeelers on the other side of the lake. The area would be near St. Ignace in Northern Michigan as "Indian Camp" shows. The manuscript is partly paraphrased in Johnston, Tip of the Iceberg, 59; Also see Oldsey, 39.

²"Chord" in the manuscript puzzled Oldsey, because it is printed twice as "cord" in The Nick Adams Stories, 14. All subsequent references to "Three Shots" are to this edition and appear parenthetically within the text. "Chord" is important for my analysis, and I will retain it in this manuscript section as reprinted in Oldsey, 40.

image of two trees rubbing as a motif from Algonquian mythology, and then in the dialogue about the beech trees as native knowledge about nature, as both presented in Rolf in the Woods.

In effect, the subject choice, initiation's identification essentially with fertility myths and rituals of a dying and resurrecting deity, man-gods or sacred priest-kings, of sacred marriages, and the time setting in "Three Shots," clearly connect the story to some of The Golden Bough's central ideas that need to be discussed in more detail in order for us to recognize Hemingway's aims.

To begin, Frazer considers the aforementioned rituals as re-enactments of myths in the form of a drama. The participants then identify with divinities: humans become gods. Deeply religious, seasonal, and life-preserving, rituals of dying and re-born divinities reflect one of mankind's central concerns with death and immortality. Most important, they help lay bare the fact that traditional civilizations consider death as a welcome necessity, they wish to hasten arrival of life, because the life-force is seen as the fundamental, divine driving power in the universe.

Frazer says it is precisely for this reason that the gods' ritual happy sacrificial death, often a voluntary suicide, precipitates their even more joyous resurrection. Consequently, he maintains, traditional societies often associate deities with staple crops or vegetation, animals, the stars, but especially with the sun or the moon, and set ritual timing by principal cyclic solar shifts or lunar phases. This is particularly true for ritual marriages performed during the moon's phase (when this celestial body cannot be seen from the earth) called "the new moon." The connection between the new moon and the sacred marriage of gods lies in the notion that both effect a new form. The new moon is often thought of as the time when the sun and the moon unite, so this phase of the moon precipitates her visible form. The sacred marriage symbolises birth of new life, divine, human, animal and plant, through the union of the sexes. Furthermore, the divine coupling produces a new form of life in two ways: after the mythical sacrificed deity dies, his young, godly son or a substitute assumes the divine status, while in some versions it is the goddess who restores the dead god back to life. Both versions are reflected in rituals. Of interest to my discussing "Three Shots" are Frazer's observations concerning "lunar sympathy," particularly the new moon as the time setting for numerous rituals and ceremonies involving notions of "growth and increase"; among them are divine marriages. It is significant that all the ceremonials and rites during or around the phase of the new moon are performed with intention "to renew...the life of man" (VI: 369-77).

What we see here are matrices with actual and symbolic

significance but all belonging to the same set: just as sacred marriages and unification rites bring new life, and rituals of dying deities result in resurrection, the initiates' "deaths" effect spiritual re-birth. All stimulate and re-invigorate life in the physical and spiritual worlds. Hence their identical nature and their religious link.

Frazer suggests next that primitive man believes that rituals of death and re-generation do not simply re-establish but actually precipitate the cyclic revival of deities, man-gods, priest-kings, of celestial bodies, and terrestrial lives and spirits. In Frazer's view a variety of life-renewing rituals are revelatory of mankind's evolution from an elementary, "magic," to the complex, religious consciousness. Yet for Frazer magic and religion blend, and are, in fact, often confounded one with another. What according to Frazer determines man's transformation into a religious human person is "comprehension" of "man's entire and absolute dependence on the divine"; in short, only those minds that "comprehend the vastness of the universe and the littleness of man" develop religious consciousness (I: 240).

Since I discuss the ritual context, which is simply dramatized myth, it is important to know that Frazer assumes that two laws operate within the ritual field. One is the Law of Similarity, the other the Law of Contagion. The way they function is best seen in a simplified way in Frazer's reference to the ritual marriage between maidens and fishnets observed by Algonquins of the Great Lakes³ and performed with the purpose of re-generatting life (and bringing abundance of fish). The fact that this Algonquin ritual wedding is a dramatized re-enactment of mythical gods' sacred marriage linked to the new moon, makes the Algonquin participants identical to deities by the Law of Similarity: humans and fishnets become divinities. In the case under discussion re-generation affects all participants, or objects assigned to roles of participants, yet not only in this particular but also in any other life-promoting ceremony. As a result, according to the Law of Contagion, union with fishnets transmits rebirth to all in every direction, because it was believed that the contact between participants and objects continues and conducts after they separate (I: 52-54; II: 73).

With this knowledge we can now start opening a view into how Hemingway handles Nick's initiation.

According to Radin, the mentoring of Ojibwa boys, usually done by a member of the immediate family, consists of some six years of systematic, physical and spiritual preparation starting when the initiate reaches the age of five or six. This enables the boy to withstand at ten or

³Algonquins, also called Weskarini, are a small tribe of Algonquian stock.

eleven, when he enters puberty, continual, prolonged fasting and then extended isolation in a specially constructed wigwam in the forest where he obtains a manito, in a dream-vision; without this spiritual guardian, Radin says, the Ojibwa believed, life's difficulties would not be surmountable. Initiation, therefore, associates the new, religious phase of life with leaving childhood. Obviously, initiation operates on two levels: the physical and the psycho-spiritual.

In order to introduce the first phase of initiation, Hemingway draws on Joyce's and Eliot's methods of appropriating anthropological material: anthropological information serves for factual accuracy as it does for artistic interpretation so that initiation is here presented condensed to serve the cardinal theme and to maintain undiminished emphasis on Indian content. Accordingly, Hemingway immediately opens the story with words and descriptions which imply the initiate's separation from mentors. The words "tent" and "fire" put the story's setting at once in the outdoors, far from domesticity (13). "Tent" brings the image of a virtually self-contained space, reinforcing the feeling of Nick's retreat into solitude. That Hemingway describes Nick separated from the father and the uncle by a canvas wall where Nick sees them as shadows, emphasizes the feeling of detachment, and suggests that Nick's instruction by an older family member has been completed: Nick can manage on his own. Nick knows the outdoors very well, like an Indian, inasmuch as he can recognize animals by their sound at night. Nick knows how to handle firearms and has passed childhood; he is big enough to manage the rifle's three kicks. Nick is a boy in early puberty.⁴

In the second phase of Ojibwa initiation the boy in puberty goes into long isolation in nature in a specially constructed wigwam where, fearful, he continues his fast. How closely Hemingway relies on anthropological accounts is seen when he presents Nick, as if he were an Ojibwa, in the tent put up especially for the occasion, and then moves him through the woods and into the tent. Yet Hemingway does not describe nature. The focus is on the human.

Nick is troubled. The experience is not entertaining, as the words "uncomfortable" and "frightened" convey, but a profoundly serious matter (13). Particularly in the first paragraph's descriptions of Nick's formalized gestures and behavior, and in repetitive language patterns (three times "undressing" and "and," twice "ashamed") the reader is able to recognize the ritual pattern. Nick, however, has no idea

⁴The boy (in Nick's family) receives a gun at the age of twelve in "Fathers and Sons." Nick has and uses a gun in "Three Shots," and must have passed that age.

that he is drawn into ageless Indian modes of conduct. In this way, Hemingway sets one of the primary themes in the story, the theme that Nick unknowingly participates in initiation. The implication is that at a certain time and in a certain place modern Western man inherently enters and repeats traditional initiatory patterns, unaware of their original meaning. With this Hemingway points simultaneously to the endurance of traditional thought and conduct and their significance to mankind, as well as to similarities in the human race that stem from the depth of time. Accordingly, this brings a sense of cyclic tendencies in the history of human existence.

Nick does not eat. Characteristically Hemingway describes eating and drinking in the three stories published before this one and in those that followed, and in virtually all of his later fiction. The purpose of long hunger in initiation is to force the body, the seat of the spiritual, to enter a new state, that of a physical shock. As a result, the level of the individual's perception rises to the point when it extends beyond its usual range and becomes seemingly above normal. The reader certainly understands that absence of description of Nick eating or drinking is a fictional translation of fast into the implied equivalent in Nick's situation.

Fear, one's reaction to emotional pain, also hastens physical shock, and it accompanies Nick's isolation. One of the central observations of Frazer in The Golden Bough is that ritual symbolism associates fear with the casting off the moribund in man's spiritual life, as "undressing" implies here. The search for illumination demands that Nick divest himself of all that is known to him as a prerequisite for the new knowledge. In ritual terms, Nick is entering the phase of sacrificial loss. In this way Hemingway evokes another theme related to Nick's initiation, the theme of sacrifice and loss as a condition for renewal.

Fire, as Hemingway apparently knew from The Golden Bough, is universally regarded as emblematic of life and associated with spiritual illumination; it is also the typical element of ritual purgation of the old which hastens the birth of the new. Hemingway uses the ritualistic meaning of fire, renewing force, to emphasize the notion of re-birth hidden in Nick's name; in Hemingway's time a popular hypocoristic of St. Nicholas of Myra, "The Wonderworker," the Christian saint believed to have restored miraculously three dead children to life. With Dutch immigration to North America, St. Nicholas became the patron saint of the city of New York, whose feast was celebrated with colorful pageants. By assimilating the image of the saint and his dark, pagan companion in Christian hagiography, Hemingway allies Nick, who is an American, with the Indian -- the fiercely non-Christian native -- and with traditional roots and attitudes.

As Hemingway probably knew from the Indian materials, but also from The Golden Bough, in primitive societies the name and the person were considered inseparable; the name was the person's essence, and was guarded as such (III: 318).⁵ Nick's name, inherited from a traditional, classical civilization, literally means "prevalent among men," which Hemingway, an apprentice to modernist etymologists Joyce, Stein and Pound, obviously knew.⁶ The subtlety of allusions held in Nick's name is remarkable for three reasons. First, Hemingway further likens Nick to traditional figures of dying and reviving deities associated with the sun or the moon, and, consequently, with light, recurrent generation, and life. Second, Hemingway raises questions, and perhaps hints at the answer, about the divine in man. Third, these allusions feed the central theme in the story, the theme of Nick's Indian patrimony, when Hemingway merges Nick with the Indian in the present space, time and actions through the primal, the similar and the recurrent modes of spiritual experiences in mankind's history.

Nick, therefore, is a protagonist because he has essential prerequisites for the search for knowledge of the self: he is a true human being, allied to life and endowed with a capacity for enlightenment. What will eventually determine Nick's evolution into an outstanding, religious mind, a modern hero, is his ability to achieve illumination. The mere fact that Hemingway has Nick enact Ojibwa initiation signals to the reader that Hemingway wishes to show the force of native pattern through which Nick would arrive at self-knowledge. Nick's initiation thus becomes a departure into the depth of his spiritual consciousness, on Indian terms.

To the first paragraph's motif of light in the word "fire," signalling re-birth, Hemingway gives another function in addition to its value as the ritual symbol. He uses it as a literary device, as a linear, recurrent motif,

⁵Hodge, Handbook, 2: 17-18, gives a general introduction to naming in North American Indian cultures.

⁶Manuscripts dating from 1923, when Hemingway wrote the vignettes published in 1923 in the Little Review and in the spring of 1924 in in our time, show that Hemingway then settled on the name Nick Adams for this character. Nick's first name appeared in print in in our time in the vignette "Nick sat against the wall of the church...." "Adams" -- literally meaning "the man," remained in the 1923 unpublished manuscript of a vignette, partially quoted in Reynolds, Hemingway; The Paris Years, 127. In 1924 Nick resurfaced with a full name, Nick Adams, in the manuscript of a story published in 1925 as "The Battler" in In Our Time.

the reader's guiding light through the story's actions, space and time shifts, as in "jack light," "fire," "burned," "night light," "shone," "flashlight," "morning," and "lightning."

Radin's observations show that the Ojibwa boy enters the initiation's second phase at night. When Hemingway sets the scenes late in the evening he puts Nick's initiation in harmony with astronomical time. In ordinary meaning, the story's action agrees with that turn of the earth's rotation which unfolds the birth of the day. The suggestion is that Nick is governed by the recurrent cosmic pattern of periodicity, of disappearance which brings re-birth. The word "fire" reflexes the ritual notion of renewal into the second paragraph to "jack light" (13).

"To fish with a jack light" implies that Nick's initiation happens in the period of the month called the new moon, when there is no moonlight; the reader of the twenties, who grew up on President Theodore Roosevelt's call for outdoors life for everybody, knows of course that it is only then that one can fish with a jack light. This time is a critical period in the lunar cycle, but the one which effects birth of the visible phase of the moon. With this Hemingway recaptures notions of rebirth in Nick's name and Nick's link to cosmic, reviving deities. Therefore, Nick's initiation is shown to be in harmony with the universal order of disappearance and renewal. Speaking in metaphors, now that Nick is the "Indian" initiate and established protagonist, the initiation takes on the role of his mentor by obliging him to undergo the knowledge-charged imprinting of basic facts about the earth and the sky which were culturally significant in Indian traditions.

After having spent his childhood and early adulthood outdoors, Hemingway was certainly not an amateur in matters of fishing and astronomy. St. Nicholas for decades devoted one section of each issue to natural science. Science and the Scientific Monthly, available to Hemingway at the Field Museum, regularly published articles on astronomy; he maintained a life-long interest in and owned books on the subject. However, 1923 is the publication date of William Tyler Olcott's Book of Stars for Young People; Hemingway could have used it for "Three Shots."

That Hemingway deliberately sets the time of actions in his fiction is acknowledged by critics. His correspondence with a childhood friend Grace Quinlan remains as an illustration that Hemingway, too, had conventional knowledge about beliefs attached to lunar changes, and did not come to Paris unprepared for Frazer's discussions on ceremonial

⁷Item 4965, Brasch, 277. Brasch shows fifteen additional items on astronomy dated after 1923. Also see Item 1383 in Reynolds, Reading, 153.

lunar timing. In August, 1920, Hemingway wrote: "Didn't we rate a great moon the first of last week? It was great in camp lying rolled up in blankets... looking at the moon.... In Sicily they say it makes you queer to sleep with the moon on your face. Moon struck" (Letters 36).

The setting of Nick's initiation during the new moon has an anthropological equivalent in Algonquian materials. The Golden Bough could have perhaps told Hemingway that the Blackfoot associated the appearance of the new moon with mythical marriage of the sun and the moon, who are deities and then become one, and would set ritual marriage by this phase of the moon (II: 146). Obviously, the Blackfoot see unions in entities. Namely, the male and the female as one entity, the human species, and also the sun and the moon as one entity, the luminous cosmic substance. The same is true for the Ojibwa who consider that the sun and the moon, from whom the Midè'wiwin initiate receives new life, merge into one entity during Midè'wiwin initiatory rituals.⁸ The Algonquins of the Great Lakes, as I mentioned already, re-enacted sacred marriages among humans and fishnets. From the Indian point of view, then, Nick's initiation matches both Algonquian mythical and ritual marriages.

The information is significant, because it reminds us that unions ensure fertile change on concrete and symbolic levels: they reverse a solitary, "sterile," existence into an all-inclusive one. As sexual intercourse results in newborn life, the initiate's entrance into puberty marks birth of a new physiological stage in life. Similarly, a step into a higher state of consciousness revives spiritual fertility. Above all, we awake to the fact that traditional civilizations regard all forms of life in the universe indivisible one from another, and venerate sexuality, birth, and spiritual re-generation with religious devotion.

So when Hemingway implies the time setting during the new moon in "to fish with a jack light," he also invokes a metaphor for sacrifice, loss, and union, and for emergence of new life. That Nick's initiation happens at the same time as mythical and ritual marriages makes it by the Law of Similarity identical to all life-renewing activities in Algonquian traditions. This makes Nick not just a participant in Ojibwa boys' puberty initiation but in all Indian rituals which re-generate life in a cycle on cosmic scale. Nick is a life-promoter. He, too, has to undergo the same phase of sacrifice and loss in order to achieve re-birth.

Indeed, Hemingway emphasizes the ritual notion of revival and illumination not only with "jack light," but

⁸Hoffman, Midè'wiwin, 249, 268. Significantly, the Algonquian language family has one word for the sun and the moon.

also with the setting and the action. That Nick's initiation takes place in the woods, by the water, and that Nick's father and uncle are fishing also suggests a large, all-encompassing ritual frame. Frazer documented extensively that traditional societies worshiped vegetation as deities: Hemingway perhaps knew from the The Golden Bough's two volumes about dying and resurrecting divinities "Adonis, Attis, Osiris," which Eliot used for The Waste Land, that each appeared as an impersonation of a particular tree or a plant spirit. Similarly, Frazer showed through innumerable examples that water, fish and fishing, as life-giving and life-related substances and activities, have distinct symbolic significance. In numerous traditional civilizations as well as in Christianity water is associated with renewal; it is thus referred to or used in a variety of rituals performed with the intention to promote or give new life. Similarly, fish has long been symbolic in Christian and certain non-Christian tradition, and as food it is also seen in some traditional civilizations as sacramental and a source of natural fertility. Fishing is a nourishment-ensuring activity, universally considered sacred in "primitive" societies. Most important of all, Hemingway gives an additional symbolic sense to the story's physical setting, near St. Ignace. He links Nick and his initiation to the locale through Algonquian concepts related to rebirth, but the significance is revealed only in the concluding part of "Indian Camp."

With the allusion to the new moon in "fishing with jack light," Hemingway deliberately signals the Indian quality of Nick's introduction, simultaneously, to myth, ritual, fact, and rules of conduct. This means that the Indian does not recognize separations of any kind, material or divine. On the contrary. The initiation would teach Nick that life is a venerable entity. In its permanent spatial and temporal movement the life-force has cyclic stages of critical arrest and revival. Just as Nick's life has on its physiological and spiritual course arrived to the phase of renewal, so has initiation. "Jack light" stands as a metaphor for the illumination Nick must achieve in order to grasp that the essence of the life-force lies in reappearances; Nick can do this since he is the life-promoter, but he must start from himself first at the expense of sacrificing a spiritually inert life.

The reader is drawn into cyclic and linear movements as Hemingway rushes the story's action into the third initiatory phase of simulated death, compounding Nick's growing fear with life-withdrawing imagery. Action turns back in time from the previous evening to "a few weeks before" (14). The life-generating motif in "jack light" diminishes in "fire burned down" (13). Sounds in "He could hear the oars of the boat" disappear in "he could no longer hear the oars" and in "There was no noise anywhere."

Physical activity in "Nick went back" and "walking back" signals reversal in "back," and then cessation in "Nick lay still." Emotionally, however, Nick's fear moves from "began to be frightened," to "a little frightened," and culminates in "He was afraid of dying" (13, 14).

Descriptions of Nick at church heighten awareness of modern Christian ritual's inability to pitch the participant into the transcendent phase and into divine communion, in the way initiation does. Clearly, at church Nick attends the Mass, re-enactment of Christ's Passion and Death. Yet for Nick the Mass does not have meaning other than the one communicated through a hymn. He listens to the modern, late nineteenth-century piece by a Protestant American composer, but hears only the line reminding man of mortality, of the "silver chord" breaking, and divine promise of resurrection.⁹ The image is ironic, revelatory of Hemingway's intention to remind the reader of the epoch's doubt in and vulgarization of Christianity and Western society. Yet the content implies simultaneously two points. First, that contemporizing Christianity weakens and therefore renders meaningless its rituals' original meaning. Second, that Christianity developed in such a way that God has separated from human, beast, plant, and cosmic bodies, so that the modern, skeptical mind is left to struggle with uncertainty, doubt, or even disbelief in God's existence, and in final divine reunion and resurrection, which will happen sometime, once and for all. By its very essence, the scene describing Nick at church supports the cardinal theme. At the same time the reader feels that Hemingway shifts from references to the Mass, as a re-enactment of Christ's sacrificial death, to initiation's "death" phase.

The suggestion is that the Indian pattern is to show Nick the way to enlightenment. The basic, traditional concepts point to directions Nick must take. The first step is realization of the meaning of the word "chord" (simultaneous sounding of several tones which bear a melody): that there is unity between physical worlds of the earth and the cosmos. The second is realization of the meaning of the word "hymn" (a wedding song originally): that human and divine union and love -- the human male and female for each other, the godly couple's love, and deity's love for man and human love of god -- constitute the highest form of renewal. Both points of understanding offer Nick insight into the full matrix of death and re-birth. The reader, however, is urged to sense that Nick's search for spiritual rebirth and illumination unconsciously proceeds through traditional modes of experience, as is suggested in reporting of Nick's reading Robinson Crusoe, a popular tale

⁹For identification of the hymn and a short discussion see Grimes, Religious Design, 2.

of a shipwreck and reconstruction of life (assisted by Crusoe's native), "under the hall light until the morning" (14).

In spite of Nick's alliance to life and to Indian traditions, Nick is incapable of discerning traditional signs pointing the way to spiritual renewal. Nick knows fear of death, but he does not know death closely, not in the frightening way an Indian does in initiation when he enters the "death" phase that "obliterates" memory of a child's psychological life. So Nick has to enter his own version of "death" and abandon all previous knowledge. It is the sacrifice Nick must give in order to arrive at the transcendent stage receptive to spiritual resurgence. The initiatory pattern can exert no more influence on Nick than to continue pushing him on its course, as if he were an Indian, into the third initiatory stage of shock and apparent death.

One source for the scene where Nick fires his rifle may be the account in The Golden Bough which reports an Indian boy's initiation in the Nootka Sound in the North American Pacific in 1820 when his father, a chief, fired a revolver by his son's ear to shock the boy who "immediately fell down as if he was killed" (XI: 270). Here, Hemingway creates a scene where he has Nick provoke shock by firing at close range. Nick, astonishingly, puts "the muzzle out of the front of the tent and shot three times" (14). To fire three times in the tent means that detonation magnifies, and encloses Nick. Shock brought by terror of death and noise knocks Nick out: he "was asleep before his father and uncle had put out their jack light." Sleep conveys temporary oblivion; it is a metaphor for simulated death. With the striking effect of "put out (their jack light)" Hemingway extinguishes the imagery of life, and in this way in the fifth paragraph ends the phase of death.

Details and references to Algonquian mythology and to native knowledge about natural phenomena found in Seton's scenes make Rolf in the Woods a probable anthropological and literary source for natural imagery in the concluding section of "Three Shots" in descriptions of trees rubbing, and the dialogue on lightning and beech trees.¹⁰ There is a scene in Rolf in the Woods where the Indian Quonab tells his white companion, the boy Rolf, not to be afraid of noises

¹⁰Seton was a celebrated authority in naturalist scholarship on North America. He was the founder of the Boy Scouts of America, an illustrator, and a writer with a reputation for the exact who for Algonquian references in Rolf in the Woods drew material from two scholarly anthropological sources, which Hemingway may have seen at Field: Burton's American Primitive Music, and Kuloskap the Master.

made by trees rubbing in the wind because this is "Nana Boju" dancing and making fire with trees (46). As the American audiences knew, Nana Boju, also known as Nanabozho, Nanabush or Kuloskap among other, is an impersonation of the life-force with the power of self-renewal and of giving and renewing lives of others, he is the first Midè'wiwin initiate and the giver of Midè' culture to Algonquians, as well as the kindler and bearer of never-extinguishable fire: his name, Nanabozho, literally means "the searcher." As Boas remarked in the Journal of American Folk-Lore (394) in 1914, Nanabozho is common to all Algonquian mythologies.¹¹ Hemingway apparently knew this. Virtually every work dealing with Algonquians mentions Nanabozho, and even in St. Nicholas (August 1905) is a story about Nanabozho for children (900-901). In the other scene Quonab tells Rolf not to be afraid of lightning during the storm but to look for shelter under the balsam and the birch that are never struck because they once protected the Star-girl (48). So in both instances, for Algonquians the vegetative and the divine are indistinguishable.

Hemingway's aim in drawing on this information for "Three Shots" is clear. The wedding of natural elements (light, lightning and fire), organic forms (vegetation), action (friction), and their consecration in the figure of Nanabozho, and, by extension, the spiritualization of Nick, has the directness of native religious elements as a necessary part of structure in the whole pattern of spiritual awakening in Nick's initiation that gives the entire Indian frame great weight: it marks a new stage in Nick's development. Starting from anthropological information, The Golden Bough could have also confirmed to Hemingway what he had known since childhood: primitive societies associate fire produced by friction of wood and lightning with gods. Next, Hemingway could have found out from Frazer that it was common knowledge in Europe that beeches are never struck by lightning (XI: 296-98). Perhaps for this remark of Frazer's or for reasons known only to Hemingway, Hemingway substituted Seton's "birch" for "beech" in "Three Shots." Desire to represent light metaphor as refined native mythical and initiatory religious symbols in order to substantiate the first stage of Nick's spiritual emergence seems to have prompted Hemingway to produce the two scenes in "Three Shots" using Rolf in the Woods as an immediate source.

His spiritual life's sacrifice in the stage of death is a catalyst for Nick's becoming a human being. Essential to his transformation is birth of the self. In the context of light imagery, Hemingway revives ritual symbolism of renewal

¹¹Quickest explanation is offered in Hodge, Handbook, 2: 19-23.

in description ("shone... flashlight into Nick's eyes") foreshadowing Nick's sensitivity to and metamorphosis into the Indian. This feeling is reinforced with "in the morning" where the symbol changes from an artificial to a natural source of light. This is a point in strategy, to imply that at the same time the reader's and Nick's perceptions of time and cosmic ordering inescapably recognize the cyclic motion. The result is that Nick's awakening again matches astronomical periodicity, but also reaffirms continuation of the search through traditional Indian patterns. The implication gains in clarity when we grasp that Nick's openness to light represents his receptiveness to the living Algonquian civilization assimilated in the figure of Nanabozho.

While the reader recognizes easily the ritual metaphors in the light motif, and can without effort transfer light symbolism to friction and lightning, the implications of life-force and culture as distinctly Algonquian, or Indian for that matter, become opaque; this is what creates a "gap" in textual development of Indian elements that the reader cannot bridge. Although in Nick's perceptions of nature the reader discovers that Nick is incapable of waking up to the religious link between himself, nature and divinity on Indian cultural terms (when Nick says "Gee, I am glad to know about beech trees") the reader is not alarmed (15). The whole story reflects initiation in miniature, as if it were a rehearsal for the real thing, with real death. But the reader is prevented from penetrating the symbolism fully. In contrast to Hemingway's deployment in the rest of the text of Western and traditional cultural and astronomical metaphors familiar to the reader in the twenties, in these scenes the reader would find difficulty distinguishing Indian references. Because Hemingway may have realized that before publication, he, significantly, at this point excised the manuscript.

"Three Shots" has never attracted the critical attention for its Indian elements that it deserves. In spite of this, only a few critics explored the reasons for deletion. Carlos Baker and Joseph M. Flora asserted that Hemingway probably excised "Three Shots" in order to get rid of comic effects in scenes describing Nick's terror of dying (125-126; 31-32). While a young boy's fear of death can appear comical to the child or the childlike, that this was one of the reasons for deletion may seem improbable because Hemingway's descriptions of Nick's fear strike the reader with the thought that fear of death is the serious stuff reality is made of.

Similarly, Kenneth G. Johnston and Larry M. Grimes advanced an unlikely possibility that Hemingway lopped off the manuscript because Nick is shown as a coward and a liar; as an implicit statement, they thought Hemingway might have judged that this could have undermined Nick's credibility in

"Indian Camp."¹² Johnston's assertion that Hemingway drew on the parable between truth and ignorance from the cave scene in Plato's Republic evident in description where Nick sees his father's and uncle's looming shadows on the canvas ("In the Beginning" 103; Tip of the Iceberg 57), and Grimes' that "Three Shots" "anticipates ...adult nightmares... death, violence, cultural imperialism, and sordid morality" of "Indian Camp" (Religious Design 56), reveal perhaps not necessarily convincing reasons for deletion but are representative of exhausted methodologies applied to analyzing Hemingway's Indian stories that forces the critic to disconnect and loosen fictional rendering and interpret it without seeing the developmental consistency of Indian elements.

On the other hand, Kenneth S. Lynn's comment on "Three Shots" in his biography Ernest Hemingway sums up a number of minute, fleeting references to "Three Shots" in criticisms discussing Nick or In Our Time that suggest that the reason for excision was nothing more than a common editorial cut: Lynn assigns one sentence to "Three Shots" stating that the manuscript "contained" nothing more than "some flashback material about young Nick going to church back home and singing a hymn [sic] about the breaking of the silver cord and then staying up all night reading Robinson Crusoe" (277).

Peter Griffin's newest biography, devoted to Hemingway's Paris years, asserts that Hemingway cut off "Three Shots" before publication "because he found he was embarrassed about publishing his own work and wanted to take as little space as possible in the transatlantic review" (Less Than a Treason 67). When we remember that Hemingway did everything in Paris in order to publish, submitting work constantly to magazines and reviews, Griffin's reason for deletion of "Three Shots" seems not to take into consideration essential facts about Hemingway's professional attitudes and conduct at the time of excision and later in life.

"Indian Camp" supplies reassurance that the themes set in "Three Shots" and Indian anthropological information reappear, and provide support for arguing that there is harmony and consistency in development of Indian elements between the two manuscript sections. Thus, Hemingway probably deleted "Three Shots" to enable "Indian Camp" to stand on its own for the remarkable story it is.

¹²In the story Nick is too embarrassed to tell his father the real reason for fear, so he says that some animal probably frightened him. Grimes, Religious Design 56, and "Night Terror and Morning Calm," 413-15; Johnston, Tip of the Iceberg, 50, 57, and "In the Beginning," 102-03.

III

NICK ADAMS, THE INDIANS, AND INITIATION IN "INDIAN CAMP"

For its Indian content, "Indian Camp" should be read separately from the deleted opening section, just for what it is: Hemingway's first published Nick Adams Indian story. My interest in this chapter is to illustrate how Indian references which carry the ritual frame and content radically alter the accepted critical definition of Nick's initiation, his feeling of immortality, and his development. Detailed understanding of Hemingway's technical mastery in incorporating North American Indian and other anthropological materials contributes to re-assessing "Indian Camp" as a revolutionary story in the Hemingway canon with respect to the modernist traditions Hemingway uses in writing this story, and the presentation of Nick.

Of all the Nick Adams stories none has received as much critical attention as "Indian Camp." As far as the story's atmosphere is concerned, virtually all published studies are quick to note violent, uncontrolled, primitive, and therefore uncivilized actions and feelings. In the 1940s, Cowley was among the first to point to certain primitive aspects in Hemingway's fiction. To Cowley this meant that a mythical and ritualistic dimension of Hemingway's work conveys affinity with situations that are evil, threatening to and unmanageable by protagonists. For Cowley, Hemingway's "cast of mind" was indeed primitive by being "pre-Christian" and "prelogical" (49-50). An equally perceptive, but no less puzzling, opinion about primitiveness in "Indian Camp" was first put forward by Philip Young in the early fifties. Young asserted that this story was reminiscent of initiation in that it was "the telling of an event which is both violent or evil or both... the description of an incident which brings the boy [Nick] into contact with something perplexing and unpleasant.... This is Nick's initiation into pain, and the violence of birth and death" (Reconsideration 31-32). Several decades later Young suggested that Nick's final reaction was typical of a child's illusion of immortality because "children don't really believe in their own demise. Death is obviously something that happens to other people" ("Big World Out There" 32). Young's understanding has had a significant influence on the Hemingway scholarship over the years; it provided inspiration for valuable, often controversial, readings of "Indian Camp" to be mentioned shortly. However, obviously extending from Young's reading, in the last two decades critics have taken an even harsher view of Nick. There is a suggestion that Nick is incapable of passing into adulthood because his reaction to the events in the Indian camp,

expressed in the feeling of immortality, is a clear sign of immaturity.

Nick's feeling, however, intimates his spiritual rebirth, initiation's logical result. As much as it is the clue to Nick's maturation, it is also the key to the story's Indian references. In addition, description of Nick's illumination provides an initial lead to two distinct anthropological sources tapped by Hemingway. He uses the first for treatment of initiation, the myth and ritual of death and re-birth of cosmic deities and the sacred priest-kings as well as the sacred marriage of primordial pairs of cosmic gods, presented in previous chapters. The second supplies references to North American Indian life and traditions in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth-century that I specifically discuss in this chapter. So here, an analysis of Indian references, descriptions, imagery, motifs, mythical and ritual symbolism, brings to light Hemingway's aims in presenting Nick's transformation as a shift into Indian concepts. Although "Indian Camp" is well known, for my discussion it is necessary to trace the story's development.

Two Indians row three whites, Nick, Nick's physician-father, and Uncle George, from their camp to the Indian barkpeelers' camp on the other side of the lake, where Nick's father will deliver an Indian woman who has been in labor for two days with a baby in breech position. The woman's husband, crippled by a serious axe-cut to the foot three days before, lies in the upper bunk of the bed where Nick's father performs a Caesarean section with a jack-knife. Three Indian men and Uncle George hold the woman still, while Nick assists by holding a bowl for the afterbirth. After the delivery, Nick's father sutures with nine-foot-long gut fishing-leaders. Ready to return in the morning until the nurse's arrival from St. Ignace by noon, the doctor checks on the Indian father: Nick sees the Indian's head tip back, opening an ear-to-ear gash where the man has slit his throat. Later, in the boat on the lake, Nick feels "quite sure that he would never die" (21).

The now familiar initiatory phases are recognizable in the story's structure. The vital fact is that "Indian Camp" is the original modernist literary construct of initiation presented in a condensed form, written to conform to the story's structural qualities and fit its characteristically Hemingwayan writing style. Consequently, the first phase of mentorship is assimilated in Nick's boatride. The second, of initiate's withdrawal into a forest, in Nick's walk to the Indian camp. The third phase of shock and apparent "death" in a specially built enclosure is absorbed in the events in the shanty. The fourth phase, rebirth, is contained in descriptions of Nick's return to the lakeshore and the closing boatride scene.

In order to lead the reader to a deeper understanding

of North American Indian initiation as the ritual of death and resurrection, Hemingway adds emphasis to Nick's experience in such a way that he develops and intersects simultaneously three identical matrices of death and revival all belonging to the same set.

One level of the first matrix deserves to be called "modern," because it involves Nick's physician-father as the figure in demise, and Nick, the son and genetic heir in the concrete re-generation, as the successor. It helps to remind ourselves of Frazer's postulate about the evolution of the office of the sacred priest-kings that in traditional societies medicine-men-physicians often developed into figureheads of sacred priesthood, divine royalty, and eventually deities (I: 375, 420). The "modern" matrix is particularly significant because it reveals Hemingway's aim to juxtapose clearly modern American and Indian civilizations for two reasons. The one is to elaborate on the cardinal theme pre-set in "Three Shots." The other is to convey to the modern reader that the original significance of the dying and re-born god has its variant in the early twentieth-century industrialized American civilization which has ceased to understand what man is all about, and has no means to initiate and develop spiritually and religiously fertile human persons in the way the Indian does. So in ritual terms related to the "modern" matrix, an adult American, symbolized by Nick's father, remains spiritually limited, and in metaphoric terms confined, just as other living creatures and vegetation are, to the most ordinary, procreative renewal. Only those young minds who, like Nick, enter the age-old Indian ritual and have the extraordinary mental capacity to grasp its essence achieve the supreme, traditional religious "comprehension" and therefore total spiritual renewal. This is why the other level of the "modern" matrix has an "archaic," Indian content, that clarifies Nick's initiation.

Hemingway extends this "archaic" level into the second, "primal" matrix of mythical death and revival of cosmic gods, which emerges in front of the reader's eyes when Hemingway has Nick enter the Indian shack and with it the myth's re-enactment as the Indian couple's drama of suicide and childbirth. According to Frazer, the most primary dramatization of the myth of a dying and resurrecting deity was the actual killing, regicide, but also the voluntary suicide of the divine figure, followed by the installation of the substitute with qualities identical to the dead god's, before it evolved into sophisticated, mimetic actions. What the "archaic" level and the "primal" matrix reveal to the reader is that Hemingway symbolically plunges Nick into the depth of time, and thus into the most ancient form of man's religious thought, but preserved uneroded in the turn-of-the-century North American Indian culture.

Naturally, the third "primal" matrix, the marriage of

the primordial cosmic pair of gods exemplified in the Indian couple, is held within and intersects both the second "primal" matrix of death and resurrection and Nick's initiation.

On one side, knowledge about how the Laws of Similarity and Contagion function helps the reader understand transformations of myth's and ritual's symbols, subject, themes, figures and context into literary composition. On the other, the story's actions and writing style, simple as they are, challenge the reader who is unfamiliar with The Golden Bough's postulates that he become actively involved in reading. Then, reading becomes his version of ritual action, of search for new knowledge that may eventually lead him not only to Frazer, but especially to understanding the modernist as opposed to the pre-modernist or the "narrative" writing traditions as Eliot called it ("Ulysses" 483). This means that the reader must become a searcher, consciously or not. Only the reader who successfully completes this form of initiation that Hemingway demands of him, humanizes himself by reviving his previous knowledge with the new one acquired through and because of reading "Indian Camp," and evolves into a discoverer, is able to grasp in the end why a tremendous shock opens up Nick, and makes Nick become the Western hero of the modern times as he emerges spiritually re-born and "eternal," as was the early twentieth-century Indian initiate in his civilization.

The North American Indian anthropological material becomes essential here, because it provides the story's native matter and enables the reader to take references to the Indian as imaginative transfers of factual anthropological observations to literature, that Hemingway employs in order to create the story's uniform, logical and internally consistent development of Indian elements. The influence that I see is suggested first in the opening boatride scene which Hemingway modeled on Ojibwa customs involving travel by water. Then, Hemingway alludes to native customs dealing with smoking, and with separation of men and women at childbirth. In the third part of the story, Hemingway refers to native customs at difficult births and those relating to suicide, and to Algonquian lore and toponymy. In the concluding part, Nick's illumination is fashioned on native boys' puberty initiations.

The story's first part establishes Nick's alliance with the Indian with implications concerning their ritual union in the boatride scene. Nick's initiation is shown here absorbed in a universal movement that brings revival. The theme of Nick's involvement with the Indian continues in descriptions of Nick's walk to the Indian camp, where Hemingway links the theme of enlightenment to initiation's agreement with cosmic periodicity with an allusion to lunar changes. In the story's third part, the third phase of Nick's initiation is identified with the myth of death and

resurrection of a deity and the myth's involvement with the sacred marriage re-enacted as the Indian human drama. The theme of Nick's union with life continues in this part as well as in the concluding image where with natural imagery Hemingway shows Nick as if he were an Indian, in rapture, achieving spiritual re-birth.

Perhaps no other story yields as much information of how the modernist method works in Hemingway's hands. Keeping in mind the modernist concerns and traditions which I discussed in previous chapters, here it is obvious that the technique, too, adds to the story's modernism. It involves placing as if by chance words, images, motifs, descriptions and allusions in a fixed structure where they depend on each other and imply meaning greater than the sum of the parts. In Hemingway's references to "Indian Camp" in 1925 this becomes "every thing hangs on every thing else" (Letters 157). This means that Hemingway uses one Indian image as the departing point and the unifying element of the story's action. Then he strings together those words, images, motifs, descriptions and Indian implications that connote movement on linear and circular axes. The action comes to a halt with an allusion to the Indian pattern in the final scene. In this way, the technique contributes to the effect of perpetual searching and change. Indeed, Hemingway told Plimpton that although it seems that sometimes movement is not perceptible in his stories, there is "always change and always movement" (118). At the same time, Hemingway follows Pound's dictum that a "perfect symbol" must first be "a natural object" (9). This opens two levels of interpretation for the reader: the concrete and symbolic, while the anthropological material illuminates both. The same is true for Nick's initiation. As a result, the art of Hemingway's personal expression of Nick's spiritual search has a universal sense. Only when the reader finishes reading is he able to see universal significance in local setting, in elements of local and North American native culture, and in the central theme of Nick's Indian-like evolution. Nowhere is it more evident as to how the method starts functioning than in the opening scene where Hemingway establishes directions into a well-defined, consistent, unifying Indian pattern.

With the image of two Indians standing on the lakeshore, Hemingway at once introduces the reader to the story's Indian content. Yet the image includes Nick, too. Nick's name, given as a hypocoristic, immediately hints at experiences appropriate to Nick's age. The name also invokes notions of Nick's involvement with life, re-birth and with the Indian through the traditional, Indian mode of experience and conduct. With this, Hemingway sets themes of Nick's association with renewal and Nick's Indian legacy. Two levels of perspective are established simultaneously: the literal and the symbolic. This means that certain events

and actions which Nick, as well as the modern reader, terms ordinary, are not profane in North American Indian understanding.

Given that the description involves Nick's boat ride, Hemingway uses the concrete, circular voyage as the metaphor for Nick's initiation as action, as the departure into new experience and knowledge. This is Nick's ritual search for the self, for the meaning of the cycle of death and life, of the mystery of Nick's existence through the Indian mode of experience that will, once obtained, bring fundamental change to his spiritual life. Hemingway's metaphor is apt and common for a modernist. Joyce used it in Ulysses and so did Eliot in The Waste Land, while Frazer closed The Golden Bough by calling his search for and the final achievement of knowledge a "long voyage of discovery... and our bark has dropped her weary sails in port at last" (XI: 308). Accordingly, Hemingway emphasizes the ritual aspect of Nick's experience first with the description of rowing across the lake that reveals an influence of anthropological material dealing with travel customs by water, observed by the Ojibwa of the Great Lakes where particular attention is given to seating passengers. Hemingway's strategy is to keep the reader's attention on Nick, on the Indian and on the initiatory matrix, but assimilated through movement.

This scene has caught critical attention. Joseph DeFalco suggested that "The classical parallel is too obvious to overlook, for the two Indians function in a Charon-like fashion transporting Nick...from a sophisticated and civilized world of the white man into the dark and primitive world of the camp" (161). Jackson J. Benson understood that there are "Dantean associations linked up with hell-like atmosphere of 'Indian Camp' (crossing Acheron, the river of woe, with the help of two Charon-like Indian guides)" (111). While the boatripe is valuable for its classical and Dantean parallels, it is particularly significant for its Indian elements.

When the rowing starts, Hemingway immediately brings Nick and Nick's father in union with the Indian with the following descriptions. Both Indian rowers push off the Indian camp "rowboat" with Nick and his father in it (16). To reinforce the link between Nick and his father, or perhaps to convey that Uncle George is a marginal character (whom Hemingway indeed simply removes from action before the story's closing, crucial scenes), Hemingway puts Nick's uncle in the other boat that the whites had in their camp. The Indian who rows Nick and his father (as well as the one who rows Uncle George) assumes the position of the stroke, which, according to Ojibwa custom, is always taken by the strongest. Nick and his father sit in the stern, the position usually given to the weakest. Hemingway obviously knew about this perhaps from his Northern Michigan Ojibwa friends, but also because he may have seen the bark drawings

depicting canoe travels which the Ojibwa of his time still used to leave as messages for other traveling parties that followed.¹ In this way Hemingway uses anthropological information to convey that physical movement on the water and the Indian's involvement in the action are translated into a metaphor for Nick's spiritual progression towards knowledge on Indian terms. DeFalco argues that Nick thinks he has real and symbolic "control of the boat events" (163). This seating arrangement, in fact, gives the Indian full control. Nick understands that in such a small, one-rower two-oars boat there is no tiller. Hemingway certainly knew this because he used Indian canoes and two-oars boats in Northern Michigan.² Furthermore, this factual detail enables those readers who are unfamiliar with The Golden Bough to grasp that Hemingway is concerned with the Indian as the actual and symbolic source of this movement.

Moreover, travel by water is a profoundly solemn ritual for the Indian, not an excursion. As Densmore recorded, the Ojibwa believed that the skill of canoeing was given to them by Nanabozho (Chippewa Customs 150). Therefore, when this notion transfers to fiction, Hemingway is probably also implying that in such a deeply religious undertaking as initiation, symbolized by a boat journey, the Indian rower repeats and Nick enters the Indian pattern involving religious, life-enhancing activities that are associated with water. Here the water acts as a binding element between people who travel by it, and between humans and the earth. Of particular significance is the fact that Nick, who is the focal point in the paragraph as the language suggests, is seated in the boat just like his father (and Uncle George), his feet do not touch the ground. In metaphoric terms, the emphasis is on the contemplative mind and the spiritual in man. Indeed, Hemingway presents Nick's voyage as a life-renewing ritual with natural imagery that in ritual symbolism recalls initiation.

Nick's voyage starts on the water. Water is a typical ritual element of purification that promotes resurgence, as it is a source of fertility. The boatripe also continues through mist, invoking the image of Nick virtually drenched by water. So in this way Nick's spiritual purification of the "lifeless" begins his fruition into the new spiritual life through strengthening bonds with the Indians.

Nick's departure begins at night which is associated with initiatory withdrawal, suffering, loss and sacrifice that precipitate re-birth. At the same time, the setting puts Nick's initiation in agreement with cosmic rhythms,

¹See Densmore's observations in Chippewa Customs, 135-37, 150.

²See photographs in Miller, 44, 47, 62, 64, 65.

here compressed by Hemingway to one earthly rotation. Thus, Nick's cyclic voyage by boat corresponds to the circular motion of nocturnal substitution of the diurnal celestial bodies, and loss of light should be seen as a prerequisite for revival and resurgence. Furthermore, the fullness of cyclic movement is also assimilated in the curve of the boat. With this strategy Hemingway challenges the reader to perceive the writer's concern with roundness and short, vibrant linear movements and objects as a subtle demand to approach the story with an open, flexible mind emancipated from strict, impersonal views and attitudes metaphorically expressed by a long, straight line. As a result, the reader can feel that Hemingway gives a deeper sense to the cyclic motion, of one huge, permanent cosmic withdrawal and return of life as one, universal and eternal ritual of death and resurrection about which man must learn.

The first initiatory phase of mentorship is assimilated in the description of Nick nestling in his father's arm. The question, "Where are we going, Dad?," suggests the importance of guidance and direction (16). With Nick's question, Hemingway re-sets the theme that Nick and other characters unknowingly participate in initiation with implications identical to those in "Three Shots" with an additional, clearly Indian dimension with the focus on the Indian. Hemingway also suggests in this scene that the native, whose inner and social lives are traditional, may see these patterns in light different from the white man's because in Indian concepts they have specific, religious significance. They convey the universal order, man's bonds with and place in it. Nick's father's saying "Over to the Indian camp" provides the answer to the direction Nick's spiritual voyage is taking. At the same time, while this keeps the reader's mind on Nick and his father as a pair, the attention shifts to the Indian rower who literally and symbolically takes on the role of the guide.

That Nick's father is called to the Indian camp to assist a sick woman will lead the reader to equate physical healing with spiritual processes of renewal and restoration to life. With all this Hemingway reaffirms one of the main themes that Nick's father, too, unknowingly participates in ritual actions. Next, he settles Nick's father's ritual role. Finally, he reinforces both levels, "modern" and "archaic," of Nick's ritual matrix of demise and succession.

After having identified Indian references, images, descriptions and themes, it becomes obvious that Hemingway creates a story which unfolds on real and metaphoric planes of advancing actions: "shoved off," "row," "started off," "ahead," "rowed with quick ... strokes," "moved farther ahead," "going," and "over to" (16). From the beginning of the story, then, Nick's initiation is absorbed in concrete actions in space and time, especially those ushering in new

life on earth and in men's lives.

It is this movement that dictates Nick's entrance into the second initiatory phase of withdrawal, seen in descriptions of a walk through the forest. The fact that the action proceeds on the ground suggests an establishment of harmony and dependence between the physical and the spiritual worlds. The walk's ritual overtones are underlined with descriptions, imagery and motifs suggesting loss and emergence.

First, the purificatory and reviving connotations of water are recaptured in the description of Nick going "up from the beach through a meadow that was soaking with dew" (16-17). Second, the image of the light-bearing Indian reflects alignment with cosmic periodicity with an allusion to the new moon. This foreshadows the initiation's involvement with sacred marriages, sacrifice, unity, and rebirth. At the same time, alliance with cosmic periodicity, held in the allusion to the new moon, envelops the link to seasonal vegetative regeneration, contained in description of a walk through the forest and then through grass impregnated with dew. Hemingway could have known from The Golden Bough's section on "lunar sympathy" that in certain traditional civilizations the moon was seen as a source of life-giving moisture, and that the dew was considered the mythical child of divine cosmic parents (VI: 366). Here, Hemingway describes summer, the period of the year that brings fruition. So in this way the pattern of new life's emergence in initiation corresponds to revolutions of celestial bodies that dictate terrestrial periodicities. Hemingway involves animal life in this cycle as "dogs rushed out at them" and "The two Indians sent them back..." (17). Even such out-and-back patterns reaffirm the feeling of a unified, continual, cyclic motion of revival. And third, the motif of light joins with the progressive movement towards enlightenment proceeding along the Indian pattern in descriptions of Nick's walk from the lakeshore following the Indian who carries a lantern, then on to "much lighter... logging road," towards "light in the window," and "an old woman...holding a lamp" directly into the shanty where the young Indian woman is trying to give birth to a child (17).

Also on the other shore Uncle George gives the two Indians cigars. DeFalco, Flora and Dick Penner see this gesture as conciliatory, symbolic of the white man's peacemaking with the conquered Indian (161; 24; 189). But Hemingway may have created this scene partly because he could have been familiar with a widespread custom among modern Indians recorded by Hrdlička when men engage in smoking, usually cigarettes rolled from a bit of tobacco and corn husk, only when visited or visiting, and during specific ceremonials (30). Uncle George's gesture could suggest that he either knows the Indians well enough to recognize the occasion and honor it, or that he, too,

unknowingly joins in the Indian pattern. Also, the description invites a question: "Does the modern American know about any other significance of this plant native to the Americas and of tobacco-offering in indigenous cultures than the profane one it has in Western civilization?" It is meaningful that after the publication of "Indian Camp" Hemingway never again describes Indians smoking, but instead chewing tobacco. The reader can see that Hemingway apparently utilizes anthropological information for a specific purpose: Hemingway extinguishes the motif of Uncle George smoking, and transfers the motif of Indians with cigars to the scene where "the men," all Indian barkpeelers, sit and smoke by the camp (17). As a result, it seems that Hemingway leads the reader to conclude that within the Indian context of the scenes that follow, smoking associates with Indian men alone, as the plural form tells.

Contrary to the arguments of Benson and J. Andrew Wainwright that cigars carry phallic symbolism of male withdrawal from the nuisance of childbirth (113; 182-83), Hemingway probably uses these descriptions of Indian men smoking not because he insists on their symbolism in modern Western psychoanalytical thought, but with the intention to continue the story's North American Indian content and actually allude to traditional native separation of men and women during childbirth. Hemingway, the obstetrician's son, obviously knew that North American Indian customs put obstetrics into the domain of women.³ The text supports this, again in the plural form, stating that "All the old women in the camp had been helping her" (17).

So when Nick walks into the shanty, it becomes clear to the reader that Hemingway made initiation's third phase (retreat into an enclosure, and the element of shock that induces "death") of events related to the Indian childbirth. That primitive societies affiliate initiation and childbirth was known to anthropologists. As Hemingway certainly understood, probably from Frazer's examples in The Golden Bough, in traditional societies initiations were often either conducted as a mimetic ritual of birth, or expressed in obstetric terminology. Similarly, the ritually re-born god or a person in his office was in some civilizations called or treated as a newborn: he was a person with new life.⁴ Also, it would have been obvious to Hemingway why Joyce drew on this notion for the childbirth portion in Ulysses, while the reader would find that there is logic in metaphorically connecting childbirth and new spiritual birth.

³Informative in a general sense is Vogel, 231-236. Also see Hrdlicka, 55-63.

⁴XI: 247-49, 261, 262-63, 265, 276.

In order to strengthen the other, "archaic" level of Nick's "modern" initiatory matrix, Hemingway now conveys Nick's entrance into the "primal" matrix of god's death and resurrection and the third matrix, the sacred marriage, with the actual going into the Indian shanty. What Hemingway achieves is two things. First, he recaptures the forward-going motions. Second and most important, he fuses all matrices in ritual time and in space. Of course, these matrices substantiate ritual restoration of life on the concrete and metaphoric levels, which is governed by the Law of Similarity and the Law of Contagion. This exaggerated intensity produces an effect of the stability of traditional forms, while multiplying identical matrices increases the reader's sense of awesome variations in the cycle of disappearance and re-emergence. Also, this strategy places the reader straight into the core of ancient rituals, simultaneously alerts him to individual ritual roles, and prepares him for the impact that ritual actions would have on both modern Western and on Indian participants. When Indian references are brought to light then, development of Nick's initiation and his maturation against this background differs significantly from accounts in Hemingway scholarship.

Returning first to the general custom that commonly separated native women and men at childbirth, the fact that the Indian husband remains in the shanty was probably modelled on exceptional customs which allow the husband's presence or help with a difficult delivery. Hemingway announces this circumstance by stating that the young Indian woman had been "trying to have her baby for two days," and then develops it later in descriptions of "the two Indians followed...into the shanty," and in the scene where three Indian men and Uncle George help hold the woman still during the operation (17, 18).⁵

The Indian husband's presence in the shanty was important for Olivia Murray Nichols who suggested that he was observing couvade. Couvade is a childbirth custom which, according to Nichols, used to be practiced by "the Indians of California and the Great Basin," during which the husband undergoes a variety of purification rituals, fasting and

⁵At the turn of the century the Blackfoot, as readers of the American Anthropologist would have known, permitted the husband to be present at difficult childbirth (Grinnell 286), while in the first decades of the twentieth Hrdlička recorded among the Hopi and the Tepecano that either the husband or the woman's brother assisted the woman in distress by encircling her abdomen with his arms and applying pressure, while the Navajo called the men in to help (58, 61, 62).

taboos, and then takes to bed as if he, too, delivers a child (33). In addition to the fact that Nichols' assertion is unsupported by textual evidence, it is apparently based on a misconception that native custom observance is subject to the individual's arbitrary decisions when she says that the Indian was "presumably well enough" to move up the road and join other men in smoking despite a serious wound to the foot (34). What is most significant in the scene under examination, in addition to anthropological influence pertaining to childbirth customs, is that Hemingway has the Indian husband present in the shanty with a crippling foot injury for a particular purpose. In fact, the reader may know, as I show shortly, that the Indian's wounded foot carries native ritual connotations to re-birth, and is able to see it as an additional element of revival that converges into the composition of the ritual of a dying and resurrecting deity.

Indeed, descriptions of the woman's screams, her position in bed and the Indian husband's in the upper bunk, the fact that he smokes, and that he has a maimed foot, reveal anthropological influence pertaining to the ritual of death and resurrection of the sacred god-king. Frazer remarked that in order to preserve life in the universe and ensure its continuity the sacred priest-king-god, who undergoes the ritual of death and resurrection, observes certain restrictions. He was not permitted to see the sun and touch the ground with his feet (X: 2). Hemingway translates these anthropological facts in such a way that he sets action at night and puts the Indian wife in bed, therefore elevated from the ground, and the husband in the upper bunk of the same bed, thus assimilating their identification with a godly couple. Next, the ritual of a dying and re-born deity, both a sorrowful and a happy event, is often accompanied by wailing women who mourn his death, while at night their grief turns to joy in anticipation of his resurrection (VI: 185). Descriptions of the Indian woman's "noise" and screams, and the tense atmosphere during the difficult birth, awaited with anxiety and joy, thus assimilate the ritual content (17, 18). Moreover, Hemingway announces the cyclic notion in ritual substitution by saying that the Indian "husband in the upper bunk rolled over against the wall" (18).

To anthropological material related to this ritual, Hemingway adds more independent, native-related elements that stress fertility and resurgence. First, the motif of the pipe-smoking Indian husband recalls that smoke, created by fire, is a typical element of ritual purgation urging revival. At the same time, with this motif Hemingway provokes the reader to search for ritual significance of tobacco smoking in native cultures. Among the Ojibwa for example, as Densmore recorded, tobacco plant was regarded as a sacred gift from a manito (Chippewa Customs 143-146).

Among North American natives tobacco was widely used as a sacred ingredient in smoking ceremonials, acts of healing and supplication to divinities to send good fortune.⁶ Thus, Hemingway creates the description of the Indian husband's smoking as a studied ingredient that contains and reinforces life-promoting, religious actions in the shanty. In no other textual element does Hemingway have the life-ensuring, religious nature of the ritual more strongly emphasized than in the fact that he has the Indian husband wounded in the foot. For this reason, this second element deserves particular attention.

Critics consider the Indian husband's injury as a symbol of castration caused by guilt-feelings when he saw the tragic consequences of sexuality, or realized that he was a cuckold. Some see the wound as a result of the Indian's clumsiness or bad luck.⁷ But, the relevant native-inspired image here is that the Indian husband is so badly injured that he is crippled: the man is lame.

Lameness and limping have distinct significance in North American Indian cultures where it is associated with life and fertility-renewing activities in myths and rituals. Hemingway was aware of regenerative qualities attributed to limping from Longfellow's The Song of Hiawatha, from the motif of old Osseo who is transformed into a young man after he performs one leap.⁸ From an account of the Fourth of July celebration at a Dakota agency printed in St. Nicholas, mentioned in the first chapter, Hemingway may have understood that limping is associated with a life-renewing ceremony. Similarly, from that article in the National Geographic Magazine article on the Hopi Snake dance, Hemingway may have understood that leaping and hopping steps were life-reviving motions. The same was true with the Sun dance where participants subjected themselves to mutilation:

⁶The most informative introduction to smoking and tobacco consuming gives Hodge, Handbook, 2:604; also Hrdlicka, 30.

⁷The issue of cuckoldry deals with a textually unfounded question from the early sixties, still present in Grimes' readings, that Uncle George is the father of the Indian baby. Tanselle and Bernard had convinced themselves of Uncle George's fatherhood. Debates arrived at the point in 1966 when these assertions were put in the right scholarly perspective by Philip Young who publicly admitted the paternity of the child. See Backman, 121; Flora, 26; Grimes, Religious Design, 56, and "Night Terror," 413; Young, "Letter to the Editor," ii-iii; Bernard, 291; Tanselle, 53.

⁸The explanation is that the human can leap if he springs on one leg, which recaptures lameness and limping.

they would "attach the free end of a reata that had been fastened to the center fork of the lodge, to a skewer inserted in the loose skin of the breast" and "drag around inside the camp circle one or more buffalo-skulls by a reata the other end of which was attached to a skewer inserted in the back" (Hodge, Handbook 2:651). From the 1916 issue of the Scientific Monthly Hemingway could have learned about mythical lameness that translates the idea of rebirth to animal and fish periodical fertility from a native tale originating on the Pacific coast, reported by Boas, where the bird kingfisher obtains fishroe by striking an ankle ("Folk Tales" 335). Also from Boas' Tsimshian Mythology, available at the Field Museum, Hemingway may have known of another myth about the raven who gets eggs by striking his leg (705). Again at Field, Hemingway could have come across George A. Dorsey's Traditions of the Arapaho where myths "Foot Struck Child" and "Splinter-Foot Girl" consider the lame as life-creating individuals in Algonquian culture (160-61; 161-178). The most striking example of the mythical power of the lame is shown in the myth "The Lame Warrior and the Skeleton" (259-60). Here the warrior is saved from death by the skeleton who causes the warrior's ankle to swell.

From Frazer's extensive documentation in The Golden Bough Hemingway could have known that lameness, mutilation, or crippling wounds to extremities or an inability to move them, hopping and swinging, are in many "primitive" civilizations (other than North American Indian) also all incorporated in rituals performed to hasten the appearance of life. The idea conveyed is that these bodily signs and motions translate the concept that the universe functions on the life-principle. In connection with this we need to recall one of the central postulates in The Golden Bough, that life-promoting rituals are re-enacted in the belief that they feed new life into the cosmos, they "help" the universe decrease the stage of arrest, loss, or death, and quickly re-generate life. Another observation of Frazer's, that the reader familiar with the Sun dance would have understood, was that mutilation was furthermore considered as a mark of physical and spiritual maturity and of adulthood.⁹

It is well worth pausing over the motif of the lame Indian husband. Lameness tells the reader that in Indian concepts this physical mark or injury to extremities, conveys the universal principle of cosmic substitutions to a visible, bodily sign. The position with one leg firmly supporting the body and the other leg relaxed connotes a state of momentary rest and movement. Or, in metaphoric terms, this tells two things. First, that humans are the embodiment of this principle because the life-force in its

⁹IV: 278; VII: 284; X: 106, 239, 331-46.

spatial and temporal course has stages of arrest and resurgence. Second, that the individual is marked because, as a spiritually mature adult, he has recognized it.

This understanding of the Indian husband's foot injury has wider implications in re-evaluating Hemingway's work than just in the reading of "Indian Camp." It suggests that Hemingway implied more with his lame protagonists than critics have ever acknowledged. Besides he is venting the trauma of his own World War I leg wound on the Italian front. For example, in The Sun Also Rises Hemingway gives Jake Barnes "a hell of a biblical name," of patriarch Jacob, by the divine touch lame from the hip, and has Barnes maimed in the loin. Again, in A Farewell to Arms, Hemingway couples Frederic Henry, wounded to the leg and lame, and pregnant Catherine. In For Whom the Bell Tolls he has Robert Jordan, whose love-making made the earth move, suffer a hip injury. In The Old Man and the Sea Santiago has mangled hands and in Across the River and into the Trees Richard Cantwell's arm is crippled. But most important as it relates to Nick's development is Hemingway's 9 May 1923 unpublished manuscript where he has Nick "sitting in the trench twisting a tornequet around his ankle" (Reynolds, Hemingway: The Paris Years 125).

In essence, the examples from Hemingway's work present a sober pairing and centering on ritual and profane connotations of lameness, limping and mutilation, and, by extension, of the resulting rivalry of the traditional and modern Western thought and social conduct. Of all Hemingway's heroes Nick Adams is the one initiated in a traditional, Indian manner. His journey into life continues on the former Indian land of Northern Michigan in "The Battler" where Hemingway has him (thrown off the train by a brakeman) "felt of his knee...the skin...barked" (47). The same Western modern race that called itself civilized drew Nick into World War I and wounded Nick Adams, Jake Barnes and Frederic Henry in what became known as "the great slaughter." Just as Robert Jordan (who is eventually killed in the Spanish Civil War), Nick Adams, Jake Barnes, Frederic Henry, and Richard Cantwell are heroes who are sensitive, spiritually vigorous and sensible, but who are denied long, stable or full spiritual and physical unions with a female mythicized in the divine primal coupling. Yet Santiago's wounds, the injuries of a traditional fisherman, non-American man, carry the ritual weight of his metamorphosis into a godly human. Perhaps the most eye-opening example of deformation and eventual loss of mythical and ritual perspective in modern Western society is the beastly shooting in the Great War of the German as "he got one leg over" the wall and "three more [that] came over further" in the vignette "We were in a garden in Mons..." in in our time, and animal mutilation by the Greeks in "On the Quai of Smyrna" in In Our Time, when Western men turn into a savage,

dehumanized mob.¹⁰

The view of Nick's initiation's ritual context that I am arguing for, further throws light on descriptions and motifs that are Indian-influenced and that carry ritual or initiatory symbolism. They thus become obvious components of Hemingway's death and resurrection matrices and major themes, as well as elements of native anthropological and of Frazer's material. For example, that Nick's father is a physician contributes to initiatory content. From the Indian point of view he is associated with the sacred profession of healing. Nick's father shows that he is indeed a healer, who, moreover, acts by his profession's ancient, venerable codes. Quickly responding to the Indians' call for help, suddenly leaving the bush with nothing but a knife and fishing leaders at hand, he skillfully performs a life-saving operation on the Indian woman. Significantly, Hemingway has Nick's father suture as if he were an Indian, with gut fishing leaders. As the reader would have discovered, Hrdlička's observations reveal that it was common among the natives to suture large surface cuts with tendons; the Mescaleros did it with sinew (238).¹¹ Furthermore, perhaps first from Hoffman's Mide'wiwin but also from The Golden Bough, Hemingway knew that it is the medicine-man who revives the Ojibwa initiate from nervous shock and apparent death (215-34; XI: 268). Appropriately, Hemingway attaches life-reviving symbols to Nick's father in the knife and the gut leaders motifs.

Among the Canadian Carrier Indians, as Hemingway may have known from The Golden Bough, the knife is an instrument of initiatory resurrection. The initiate is mock-stabbed to "kill" the old life and release the new (XI: 275). That Nick's father performs childbirth with a knife clearly captures this notion (as does the Indian husband's suicide with a knife that happens during the same time) through the Law of Similarity. In the same way, the fact that Nick assists by holding a basin for and later with the afterbirth contributes to associations with re-birth in two ways. Initially, through the reader's pairing of the basin's rounded shape that recalls the boat and the circular motion which here Hemingway renders with Nick's going to the kitchen. Then, through the Laws of Similarity and Contagion.

¹⁰Perhaps as a reminder of both the war that had been out of public focus for twelve years and the literary traditions in the twenties when the stories were first published, Hemingway wrote "On the Quai at Smyrna" as an introduction for the 1930 edition of In Our Time.

¹¹Leaders, tendons and sinew are resilient, fibrous tissues that help transmit the force exerted by muscles. The words are often used as synonyms.

As a result, Nick's identification with the Indian acquires strong ritual significance. The placenta and the umbilical cord, as Frazer remarked in The Golden Bough, were considered as the "external soul" of the god-king (VI: 375). The motif of gut leaders further recalls initiatory revival because it assimilates notions of resurgence and natural fertility contained in the symbolic meaning of fish and "fishing," and in the motif of the lame foot. Hemingway certainly knew that mythical lameness is often explained by the shrinking of the tendon, as in the biblical motif of the lame Jacob. From The Golden Bough, perhaps, Hemingway may have known that the Cherokee did not eat sinew from animal thigh, because they associated it with a cramp (VIII: 266). The motif of gut leaders caught Wainwright's attention. His curious reading, viewed through what Wainwright terms the contemporary "white" society's "male" oriented "power structure," stated that the fact that Nick's father uses part of fishing equipment as a suturing material on an Indian woman reveals the doctor's racism and superiority in an action symbolic of "capturing creatures lesser than himself" (184). However, seen through Frazerian context where medicine-men-healers evolve into divinities and in view of Hemingway's matrices, Nick's father's actions accent the ritual's symbolic Indian aspects. As a result, Hemingway achieves additional merging of principal themes related to initiation and to substitution processes.

As the Indian, and other, anthropological material constitutes the unifying element in the scenes discussed, the same is true in the scenes of the Caesarean and the suicide. They clearly elaborate the story's central concern with the third phase of Nick's initiation, simulated death that onsets rebirth. Hemingway makes it obvious that the scenes are designed for several purposes. First, they reinforce Hemingway's two matrices with the third, the sacred marriage. Second, they continue development of initiation as a subject, the main themes, and the dynamics of movement presented at the beginning of the story. Third, they ensure the inclusion of the initiatory shock-provoking element. Fourth, they establish directions that Nick's search of the self is taking. The most obvious reference point to the reader in following the story's development is the axis that expresses a feeling of unity. The ritual nature of the Indian husband's suicide, then, uncovers not only evidence of Frazerian, but also of native anthropological material that integrate the "archaic" level of Nick's initiation with "primal" matrices of the god's death and resurrection and with sacred marriages.

A distinct feature of the god-king's ritual sacrifice is that he must die a violent death when in full physical and mental strength in order to ensure cosmic rebirths with identical faculties. The sacrifice is sometimes a voluntary suicide. His remains are dismembered (often during the new

moon) and scattered to ensure fertility. Often a goddess-consort in the myth of the dying and resurrecting deity (who is united with him in sacred marriage that is also usually performed during the new moon) is the person who restores the tragic event and the god to resurrection.¹² How obviously Hemingway translates this to the Indian couple is seen in the fact that the husband, who is at the peak of his sexual, physical and mental vigor, a life-promoter marked by the lame foot, commits suicide-rebirth by nearly decapitating himself with a knife during the night of the new moon while his wife restores his life with the newborn son's. Taken in relation with ritual features announced in the opening scene in the shanty, it becomes clear to the reader that all events pertaining to the Indian couple comprise the second and the third "primal" matrices fused and intersected. In order to illuminate the third matrix and place it within the Indian pattern, Hemingway resorts to casual orthography, "Caesarian" (19).

Ann Edwards Boutelle asserted that "the unusual spelling of 'Caesarian' with an 'i' adds emphasis to 'the Freudian monster of the castrating father' who 'wields a particularly terrifying knife,' and executes with 'shocking nonchalance...a particularly gruesome type of operation with it ... a 'Caesarian'" (136). In this way, Boutelle suggests, Hemingway "reinforces the identification between Nick and the victim [the Indian woman]" (136). Boutelle's reading, however, involves interests that Hemingway specifically warned against in interpreting his "American" fiction on one side. On the other, this analysis is one of many understandings of Dr. Adams that show a variety of views or preoccupations, all imaginative, but loose in singling out details that ignore Hemingway's developmental consistency in treating Indian elements as they relate to characters as well as to the story's major themes, which I discuss in the next paragraph. In this sense, Hemingway may have implied a simpler connection to Indian traditions which the modern reader would have identified easily.

First, Nick witnesses not only birth, as critics state, but a Caesarean after a two-day, abnormal labor, and this section certainly is a life-saving operation for the mother. The reader understood the seriousness of this operation in the twenties. Only four years after the publication of "Indian Camp" Hemingway employed the same motif in A Farewell to Arms where the doctor's delay in performing the section in protracted labor brought death to Catherine and the baby. When Hemingway has Nick's father say "That's one for the medical journal," Hemingway perhaps does not allude to the materials and the manner of operation which seems

¹²IV: 11, 139; VI: 130, 184, 191, 192, 294, 331, 334-35; X: 2, 410-11.

crude enough to contemporary readers to deserve a paper in a medical journal. At the beginning and still in the second decade of this century in the United States catgut was widely used for suturing, delivery at home with (or without) midwife's assistance was common and with an obstetrician infrequent, Caesareans were done in hospitals as life-saving undertakings, while other types of surgeries outside medical facilities were performed so often that medical and obstetric manuals of the period usually devoted one part to improvised, urgent procedures. The modern reader would have been familiar with all of this and would have understood that Hemingway here renders a textbook example of a turn-of-the-century emergency operation. What Hemingway may be asking of his reader is to search for information on this type of section in native cultures and then to discover, as the enormous material on the North American Indian attests, that the Caesarean section -- and all gynaecological surgery -- was completely unknown in the North American Indian civilization.

As Hrdlička recorded, abnormal positions of the child were extremely rare. They were known to happen occasionally, but were dreaded. This type of protracted, abnormal childbirth, when all native resources failed to help the mother deliver, in Indian communities proved fatal (Hrdlička 52-60). So with the spelling "Caesarian," for an operation named after an erroneous belief that it was used at Julius Caesar's birth, Hemingway may be actually alluding to the custom of post-mortem removal of a live baby in traditional Roman society. The royal law requested this operation for women who died in advanced pregnancy because it was known that the baby would survive for several days in the dead mother (Trolle 15).

Hemingway certainly knew this from fiction and medicine. He was aware of the literary use of this motif from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Cymbeline* (Reading 41, 181; Brasch 335-36). Hemingway often referred to Shakespeare as his literary master, and in the fifties told Plimpton that he still "read some Shakespeare every year" (119). In Paris Hemingway continued reading medical literature on subjects, as he said, "tracing [medical] history back to Hippocrates himself" (*A Moveable Feast* 163). On 10 February, 1924, Hemingway's letter to Pound remains not as proof but as an illustration of how Hemingway could have handled medical information at the time when he was composing "Indian Camp." "Poor old Ezra," wrote Hemingway. "In that... hospital with his gut cut open....I'll get a good medical book and study up and take your appendix out...." (*Letters* 110).

To interpret the Indian's suicide with this knowledge, and transfer it into the ritual and Indian context, is to conclude that Hemingway wanted his reader to see that the Indian husband committed suicide because he was certain that his wife would die. Indeed, in North American Indian

civilization, historically and generally in the twenties, male suicides occasionally happened but they were extremely rare. Native communities were not surprised when a man killed himself if his wife or mate died, and Hrdlička recorded that this custom of male suicide was still maintained by the White Apache in the first decade of the twentieth century (171). This anthropological information's contribution to the modernist reading of "Indian Camp" is that it may help disentangle several critical issues concerning the Indian husband's suicide.

Tanselle and Bernard assessed the Indian within their theory that Uncle George is the baby's father, so they saw the husband as a man who kills himself because he could not bear being a cuckold (144; 291). DeFalco and Monteiro rashly evaluated the Indian as a character whom Hemingway cast in a functionless role of an emotionally fragile primitive (as opposed to the civilized white), and who is therefore unable to stand his wife's screams and the whole event (162; 154). Wainwright attributed "a female weakness to the act" of suicide (186), and enlarged his unrestrained reading with an assertion that the Indian commits suicide because he could not bear life's "complications... introduced by his axe-wound and another mouth to feed...the fact that he will have to share his life with someone else, a male rival [the Indian's newborn boy]" (185).

In "primal" matrices involving the god's death and re-birth and sacred marriages, however, the Indian husband's suicide gives that religious dimension that adds tremendous emphasis to the Indian content. Hemingway shows in this way that this Indian's love is a godly love, religiously partaken. With this Hemingway addresses the question of Nick's initiation's link to the third "primal" matrix of the sacred marriage. With the aid of Indian material in descriptions, motifs, and allusions, Hemingway resolves its impact and significance in Nick's maturation by creating a single symbol for unity. In this way, the Indian context guides Nick's search towards recognition of his human self. The search then is also an awakening from an ordinary mode of seeing to a religious "comprehension" of the order as divine in the instant of spiritual re-birth. Consequently, this stands for Nick, and for the reader, as an immediate introduction to the concepts about human renewal and its real and symbolic link to cosmic re-births.

Following the movement embedded in the story's action, Hemingway announces the forming of the symbol with an allusion to the new moon in the scene of Nick's walk to the Indian camp. The next step takes the reader to the opening scene describing the shanty. By saying "She has been trying to have her baby for two days," and "He had cut his foot very badly with an ax three days before," Hemingway achieves a sense of completeness on the ordinary and metaphoric aspects of seeing by overlapping actions in time (16). The

effect communicated to the reader is movements of minds, hearts and bodies towards each other to form one, which simultaneously becomes symbolic of the forward motion that brings life. These phrases also contain allusions to regeneration held in the image of woman's pregnancy and the motif of man's lame foot. The male and female are one; together they are the human species. This means that Nick's journey towards knowledge, then, starts in recognizing unity in the natural world. The reader's mode of comprehension is liberated now to the point when he can draw on the story's progressive, life-bringing movements and take the numbers "two" and "three" together to suggest the five days of the woman's menstruation, thus raising questions about human involvement in periodical renewal on the level of procreation of the human species. As much as Hemingway's allusions tie to one of the central postulates in The Golden Bough that involves the myth and the ritual of death and resurrection and sacred marriage as expressions of concrete cyclic periodicity, they also provide associations to the key concept in certain myths and rituals of regenerative nature in Indian civilization.

The Hopi Snake dance, which Hemingway and his readers could have noticed from that article on the Snake dance in The National Geographic Magazine, started on the fifth day after the "priests" announced the sacred marriage (119). The Arapaho, too, determined the timing of the Sun dance by relating cosmic periodicity to the moon and to the days of woman's menstruation. Hemingway may have known from Dorsey's The Arapaho Sun Dance that in 1902 the Arapaho "priesthood" set "the proper time of the beginning of the ceremony [the Sun dance] ... from seven to ten days after the new moon and hence an equal number of days after the menstrual period" (22). This Arapaho "priest's" explanation recaptures cyclic notions of the moon's phases, of the woman's monthly cycle of approximately the same duration as the moon's revolution, and, particularly, the period of the new moon and the time of woman's ovulation.

The extraordinary concept contained in this calculation and its relation to Hemingway's cyclic, periodic and regenerative symbolism which I discuss in this chapter are best explained in the myth "The Little Star" which Dorsey recorded and included in The Arapaho Sun Dance (212-228). The myth tells of the two brothers' journeys on a river in search of prospective spouses. The brothers are the Sun and the Moon. They are instructed by their human father to undertake a six-days' journey. The undertaking begins "when the moon died [the new moon]," continues for two days in the dark, then stops during "two days of rest" that are "holy," and continues again for "two days before new moon" (214). This means that the journey assimilates the disappearance and the appearances of the moon in the sky. What the Arapaho are saying, in fact, is that they see this movement as a

unity, because the journey captures four stages of movement and one of rest as five manifestations of one entity. This is an apt illustration of the same notion held in the motif of the lame foot, but also of the fact that the Indian rightly considers ovulation as the beginning of life, and therefore as "holy." Hence the reverence of the life-force, the woman, the male and female as the human species, and the religious awe.

Returning to the context of the symbol under examination, in the third step Hemingway moves notions of recurrence and unity to the scene where Nick's father says that the nurse should come "from St. Ignace by noon" (19). The word "noon" in ordinary meaning reflects the cyclic notions of completion because it refers to the culmination of the solar diurnal course. At the same time, it reflects the motif of natural light and thus continues allusions to Nick's illumination. But, the symbolic meaning deepens with implications contained in the place name of St. Ignace. St. Ignace is a township in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, in county Mackinac, as Hemingway knew from life and from that map of his which he took to Paris. Mackinac, the Algonquian name for the county, was also applied to St. Ignace, the settlement in the area of the covering waters of lakes Superior, Huron, and Michigan. This is also the most fertile fishing area, and from time immemorial the traditional meeting and fishing grounds for numerous Algonquian tribes. "Mackinac" is a shortened form of "Michilimackinac" which, in an instance of Algonquian lore, means the place of the big lame person.

Hemingway knew about Michilimackinac, without doubt, perhaps from his Ojibwa friends, or from reference books such as Hodge's Handbook at Field Museum, or, like many readers, from the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Clearly, the shaping factor in Nick's evolution towards knowledge is understanding that man is a creature of the place, and, by extension, in unity with the earth and the cosmos as a living substance. In this way the approach to the central symbol is an enunciation on the part of Hemingway of man's religious growth that enables him to see this connection in a "primal," traditional way, as divine.

Hemingway arrives at this symbol when he has Nick's father say that he performed the section with "nine-foot, tapered gut leaders" (19). By the hyphenated "nine" and "foot," and their isolation with a comma, Hemingway puts the woman and the man into a unity. Adumbrations of periodical rebirth are distributed in allusions to nine months of pregnancy, the roundness of the woman's belly, the section, the cut "from ear to ear," on the foot, and lameness. While the nine months of pregnancy was common knowledge, Hemingway may have known that the summer and the winter Snake ceremonies, for example, assimilate this notion because the central ceremony lasts for nine days (Voth 3; Dorsey and

Voth 14). With the word "gut," Hemingway points to the generative organs inside the woman's body, while with the word "leaders," a synonym for tendon or sinew, he reinforces allusions to fertility, resurgence and unity. By positioning the word "tapered," suggestive of candle, between "nine-foot" and "gut leaders," the symbol is transformed with an intimation of enlightenment.

In this sense, the light motif foreshadows completion in the description of the Indian's suicide and the doctor's holding the lamp to throw light upon the darkness of the upper bunk. There, and because his father "mounted on the edge of the lower bunk with the lamp in one hand," Nick sees the Indian's "throat...cut from ear to ear. The blood had flowed down into a pool where his body sagged the bunk. ... when his father, the lamp in one hand, tipped the Indian's head back" (20). The reader is overcome and perturbed by the scene. Its expressive aspect contributes to shock and then to sudden release of tension. Simultaneously, the descriptions carry ritual and cyclic connotations of loss and renewal. While with this technique Hemingway puts all matrices in dramatic focus, he implies that Nick's awakening depends on recognition of love and unity as humanizing as well as divine and primary religious elements in the whole question of death, renewal and resurrection.

With the instant when Nick sees the dead Indian husband Hemingway asserts the two "primal" matrices while elaborating Nick's: in this image Hemingway compresses for the reader the initiatory phase of death. Nick has not eaten, he had not slept, he is in the state of "shock." His long silence during the Caesarean and the Indian's suicide suggests "death." But, most of all, Nick is now the initiate who knows the torment of physical death in a way that is shocking and frightening. This is the prerequisite for a courageous experience of life. By now the reader, too, can sense that mortality is a direct instrument of the self and represents a transcendent quality because it forces inner renewal through spiritualization of lives, here compounded in the traditional Indian of modern times. The reader can see that Hemingway's employment of the light motif in "lamp light" creates allusions to the simultaneous onset of Nick's re-birth in the next one-sentence paragraph "It was just beginning to be daylight when they walked along the logging road back toward the lake" (20).

Hemingway matches the action with the huge cosmic movement of a reborn cycle with words that connote returning motion, circular completion, and ritual purification through water: "they walked along...back toward the lake" (20). In like manner, the approaching of the sun's natural light assimilates enormous cyclic processes. Symbolically, this presents a universal, grandiose ritual godly revival, illumination, and the beginning of the person's new birth. In metaphorical terms Nick's initiatory search is

approaching its culmination.

With these images the breadth of the ritual takes in Nick and the doctor. This is a strategic admission on the part of Hemingway of the "archaic" and the "modern" levels carried in the initiatory matrix. So now Hemingway compresses Nick's awakening to the story's concluding scenes -- Nick's and his father's dialogue and the silent scene in the boat on the lake -- with the aim of suggesting that concepts here are to be grasped by characters and by the reader with intervention of personal, human feelings, thoughts and ideas.

While the dialogue about male and female suicide represents, in a condensed form, spiritualizing of the ritual action in the Indian shanty and thus vitalization of knowledge, the central images which Hemingway creates here consist of Nick's two questions and the father's two answers. "Why did he kill himself, Daddy?" and "I don't know," and "Is dying hard, Daddy?" and "No, I think it's pretty easy, Nick. It all depends" (20). In ritual terms this means that Nick's father has no idea about his role's original significance, that the Indian's death was not a factor powerful enough to make him discern unity in the events in the Indian camp: he has no capacity for "comprehension." Both answers suggest that man's re-birth in a traditional sense depends on whether he perceives the ritual's universal and personal significance.

This is the doctor's ritual demise in both the "archaic" and "modern" levels of the matrix, provided in the last scene in the text by his silence and by the lack of description of his thoughts, and by the image of the returning boat and the rowing position which is identical to the one previously assumed by the Indian rower. Consequently, the reader is able to discover implied dehumanization of Western civilization and Hemingway's skepticism about modern American society. Indeed, in other Nick Adams stories Dr. Adams is a solitary figure, always somewhere near the Indians or the things Indian, fishing or hunting, while Hemingway describes the doctor's wife as a voice from the dark room, or as a smiling person, standing on the porch, who has cleaned the house and is burning her husband's Indian artifacts collection.

The last image condenses initiatory resurrection presented to the reader with natural imagery that recaptures elements of cyclic resurgence in "The sun was coming up over the hills. A bass jumped, making a circle in the water" (21). In the sentences "Nick trailed his hand in the water. It felt warm in the sharp chill of the morning" Hemingway is concerned to show that the density of ordinary terrestrial revival is transferred ritually from the place, near Michilimackinac or St. Ignace, to Nick, and that he, too, is united with renewal (21). The traditional ritual grandeur of the whole unified content owes its meaning to the notion of

Algonquian cosmic god's restoration. In this sense Hemingway makes the "archaic" and the "modern" initiatory levels felt by the reader because the scene also recapitulates the story's opening descriptions of a boatribe associated with the Indian ritual, Nick's search for knowledge, for the self, and for the mystery of things divine.

In the one ending sentence, "In the early morning on the lake sitting in the stern of the boat with his father rowing, he felt quite sure that he would never die," the influence of Indian anthropological material pertaining to initiation is unmistakable (21). Alice Cunningham Fletcher, whose work Indian Story and Song served as Seton's source for the Omaha Sunrise prayer in Rolf in the Woods and which Hemingway could have come across at Field Museum, describes this timing in Omaha initiation as a stage in spiritual evolution when the initiate "could be inducted into religious mysteries through a distinct personal experience... into what was believed to be direct communication with supernatural powers" (29).

The sentence accomplishes the explicit manifestation of Nick's abandonment of adolescent, futile concerns with physical death and presents his rapture into the adult perception of the ritual which he witnessed in the Indian camp and of the effect it has on him. Nick's feeling "that he would never die" conveys the calm, religious experience of the person who crosses the borderline between the human and the divine, simultaneously sensing and perceiving the concrete cosmic order. This is Nick's understanding of the universal inner world and the mystery beyond it, and represents the fusing of the human self with the universe. It is a solitary, profoundly religious response to the discovery of unity. Nick's feeling of immortality is a guarantee to the reader that Nick understands that it is he who is the embodiment of the life-principle; he assures the arrest and the continuity of life. Nick is divine, sacred and eternal as are his bonds to the earth and to the universe, and he is absolutely dependent on the divine mystery of becoming. This new knowledge is Nick's illumination that in Frazerian terms embodies Nick's religious "comprehension" accessible to the humanized, adult mind not to the childish. With this sentence Hemingway presents Nick with legs drawn, literally suspended "between heaven and earth" (as Frazer subtitled The Golden Bough's concluding volume discussing death and resurrection, "Balder the Beautiful"). The universal mythical and ritual image is of a resurrecting and immortal deity.

In one sense Hemingway conveys the reinstatement of the most archaic aspect of man's religious thought and with it restoration of time's beginning and of the living Indian civilization. This makes Nick a traditional, Indian man, but also makes his evolution into a modern hero legitimate. Nick gives his search and discovery that timeless quality of

spiritual renewal that is eternal to mankind.

At the peak of this discovery, the reader is shaken out of the reading proces. The story's ending is so abrupt that he is taken aback. He realizes that he has read a superb modernist literary presentation of a modern American adolescent's Indian initiation where reality and time have been displaced, condensed, composed, and incorporated as an anthropological influence or fact, as myth, ritual or symbol, through the story's structure and the modernist writing methods and technique. Above all, the reader is aware that Hemingway's style hides an "iceberg" of knowledge. At the same time, the reader grasps that by starting reading this story he has been unknowingly initiated by Hemingway, mentored by the writer, into the process of the search for the new knowledge, so dear to the modernist writers, and that its discovery is the reader's new spiritual life.

Among readings of "Indian Camp," Grimes's is the only study about religious designs in Hemingway's early fiction that has defined Nick's experience with religious precepts. Recapturing critical assessments, Grimes, too, points out that in this story "the sensitive reader is confronted by the terror and violence of life, while Nick has been truly initiated into the relationship of life, death, terror, and violence... including his being part of a world that contains death and violence" (Religious Design 119). But there is enough textual evidence to see that the arguments I present, which advocate a modernist understanding of the story's unified Indian content through a perspective freed from the one we are accustomed to, bring a radical change in the contemporary critical definition of Nick's initiation and assessment of his development.

As much as initiation marks the shaping of Nick's Indian-like character, it sets the point from which to perceive the Indian in the Nick Adams fiction as assimilated into the white man's culture.

IV

HEMINGWAY'S INDIANS, NICK ADAMS, AND THE MODERN TIMES

In the four Nick Adams Indian stories, "Indian Camp," "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," "Ten Indians," and "Fathers and Sons" (the first published in 1924 and the last in 1933), nothing seems to tell us explicitly about America's socio-historical context involving non-reservation Indians at the turn of this century. This should not surprise us because nearly sixty years separate today's readers from the publication date of "Fathers and Sons." We no longer have intimate knowledge of the time that is not ours, and that is history.

Indeed, Hemingway wrote the four stories for the reader of the twenties and the thirties. Moreover, he did not release for print the three manuscripts, edited and published in 1972 eleven years after his death in The Nick Adams Stories, where the historical moment of action is in the latter part of the first decade of the twentieth century, too.¹ The Hemingway scholarship has produced both biographical and literary readings of the stories (as well as manuscripts) and has thus recognized their permanent attraction. But to look past the stories' Indian contents and read them as they appear to us today is to ignore their historical quality, to miss social aspects that shaped America's attitudes of the era, to misinterpret what Hemingway's Indian references meant to the modern reader, and what both the stories and the manuscripts should convey to us. This is what the present chapter brings to light.

The fictional time-setting in the four Nick Adams stories would have been easily recognized by the reader in 1924, as the first chapter showed. Nine years later, in 1933, the era would have perhaps remained still fresh in his memory as it did in Nick Adams's. Yet in 1933 the reader would have still understood the historical significance of Hemingway's references to the Indian because they presented the modern, non-reservation Indian's cultural disintegration.

The process did not happen suddenly. Rather, it was the result of the devastating impact on native population of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries of the United States Government's assimilation policies and programs on reservation and off-reservation Indians. Assimilation did

¹In "Fathers and Sons" Nick Adams is thirty-eight. This means that Hemingway places Nick's date of birth to 1894 or 1895, depending whether we take into consideration that the story was written in 1932.

not happen at once. Policies and programs were implemented in steps, studied to lead the Indian "from the night of barbarism into the fair dawn of Christian civilization...under the sway of Christian thought and Christian life, and into touch with the people of this Christian nation under laws and institutions which govern the life of our States and Territories," as the Indian reformer Herbert Welsh put it in 1886 (Prucha 620). Rapid application of laws pertaining to Indian acculturation was expected to bring quick dismantling of reservations, and Indian outflow into American society. To President Roosevelt the laws represented the solution to the Indian problem; in 1901, in his Congressional message, he called them "a mighty pulverizing engine for breaking up tribal mass" (Prucha 671). For the Indian who lived outside reservations, among whites, integration into the rapidly-developed American society, itself struggling under the pressure of industrialization, came too quickly.

In the July, 1907, issue of the National Geographic Magazine President Roosevelt summed up the nation's views on social evolution, Christian brotherhood of mankind, and the ideas of progress by saying that the Indian's "strange spiritual and mental life...has been lived under conditions through which our own race passed so many ages ago that not a vestige of their memory remains" (484). Nearly a decade later, the same magazine showed that America's official views remained unchanged. In the January, 1915, issue, Franklin K. Lane, President Wilson's Secretary of the Interior, would still call the Indian a "soldier-sportsman," a "creature of a non-commercial age," a "blend of wisdom, dignity and childishness" (80), "lifted ... into full fellowship with their civilized conquerors" (73). The government's aim, he said, was "To fill the Indian's soul with an ambition that will not let him rest content with a bonnet, a life of ease, and a mind of the past - that will lead him surely...to lean upon himself and to make him able to care for his family, and his property" (79). Individuality, monogamy, hard work, thrift, self-support, education, conversion to a Christianity based on personal salvation, brotherhood of mankind, associated with white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant virtues and ethics, which Wilson's government and the American people expected to see in the modern Indian, was America's forty-year-old, well-meaning and conscientious program to bring the Indians into the arms of the society that considered itself the righteous empire and the Indian's Christian kin. The Indian had to be transformed for modern American life through American institutions.

This was undertaken in a way that seemed acceptable to the reformers's ideals. Refusing to acknowledge any other value system that did not recognize fierce individuality as society's backbone, the reformers took to the task of civilizing the Indian by first freeing each native from

tribal bonds. In 1900, Merrill Gates, an Indian reformer, only voiced the majority's stand when he said that "The sad uniformity of savage tribal life must be broken up! Individuality must be cultivated. Personality must be... strengthened by the direction of [Indian's] own life through ... obedience to recognized moral law.... we must get at them... with American ideals...schools...laws...rights and duties" (Prucha 621). To take the native individually was necessary for census rolls, of course, but most of all it served to fit him into the Anglo-Saxon system of property inheritance and land tenure. In order to carry this out, each native had to be given personal and family names.

Land ownership and inheritance as defined in the Anglo-Saxon legal system, to be known by a name outside of the immediate family circle, or to take over male family names through marriage, was foreign to the Indian. He maintained tribal use of land, it was common for him to address even the closest family members by relationship, change names according to age, or keep the name secret. When Hemingway's modern reader saw that Dick Boulton, his son Eddy in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," Simon Green and his son Eddy in "The Indians Moved Away," Prudence Mitchell in "Ten Indians," Billy Gilby and his sister Trudy, and their half-brother Eddie in "Fathers and Sons," were all Ojibwa, he knew that they paid their dues to civilization with loss of tribal ties to identity. "Those are funny names for Indians," Nick Adams's son would say in "Fathers and Sons" (266).

Indeed, to many reformers in the 1890s, native names sounded funny, meaningless, unpronounceable, or even untranslatable. Often, certain incompetent, indifferent or overzealous interpreters, Indian agents, traders, or missionaries, did not bother about the Indian's cultural concepts when they gave him names like Crakerbox Jim, Yankee Doodle, Alexander Pope or George Washington. Some Indians, whose names were found to be pronounced easily by the whites, were simply given another name besides the native one. Billy Tabeshaw in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," retained his Ojibwa name as a family surname, and the modern reader understood why this was so. Finally, in 1903, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, W. A. Jones, named the literary figure Hamlin Garland and the Sioux member of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Dr. Charles A. Eastman, to a committee which ensured a successful native naming program for those Indians whose names were not yet substituted with the English ones.²

By 1915, as the readers knew from Secretary Lane's

²Underhill, 114-126, and Prucha, 2: 673-676, give the clearest discussion about renaming Indians. Also see Hodge, *Handbook*, 2: 16-18.

report, the general allotment act had been the law implemented since 1887, and reservation land was being distributed in severalty. A head of an Indian family, for example, received 160 acres for sedentary farming. "Let us see," said Secretary Lane, "that the Indian, with his broad acres, is in truth an American farmer" (75). The zealous implementation of the way of life based on American society's cardinal principles related to work ethics, was yet another means of breaking communal ties and thus forcing the native to abandon the seasonal hunting, fishing, gathering, and planting, (the thrifty, industrious life for centuries organized for bare survival), for the solitary land-labor in one place. In the 1900s, a census in Michigan counted 3, 402 natives on Isabella, L'Anse and Ontonagon reservations who still managed to maintain traditional lifestyles and tribal bonds. For the remaining 2, 952, scattered among the whites, the expected success of self-support would within a generation for some end in catastrophe. "There were no successful Indians," Hemingway would write in "The Indians Moved Away," and now we can understand what he meant (35). "Formerly there had been - old Indians who owned farms and worked them and grew old and fat....Simon Green was dead...and his children had sold the farm (35)."³

With the American way of life came the white man's way of earning a living. For some non-reservation natives (as the ones in "The Indians Moved Away," and for the Ojibwa woman, Mrs. Tabeshaw in "The Last Good Country") following the traditional labor distribution between the sexes, gathering and selling berries would generate a meager, unsteady income.⁴ For the unskilled, native Michigan males, the source of self-support would be menial labor in logging until 1918 when the industry suffered decline (Rector 287-300). When in "Indian Camp" Hemingway took Nick on the logging road to the barkpeelers' camp, when the narrator said in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" that the Indians were "hired to cut logs" (22), and when it was explained in "Fathers and Sons" that native men "cut hemlock bark for the tannery at Boyne City" (261), the modern reader understood. Similarly, we can now discover why Hemingway had Nick say in "The Last Good Country" that the Indians are "gone now since

³A concise discussion of circumstances pertaining to the creation of the General Allotment Act, or Dawes Act, and its implementation as law is in Prucha, 2: 666-669. The sources for Michigan census are in Hodge, Handbook, 2: 377, and in Britannica 11th ed..

⁴Among the Ojibwa, for example, gathering, drying and storing berries for winter, was usually done by women and older children. See Densmore, Chippewa Customs, 127.

they quit cutting hemlock bark and camps closed down" (128). The unskilled Indian laborer was, as much as his white counterpart, subject to the laws of supply and demand for labor dictated by the country's economy. Never fully-assimilated, dragging immediate or extended family along to seasonal logging camps, as fictionalized in "Indian Camp" and "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," the Indian could hope to make a living as long as he remained a laborer. But when he had to survive on his own, on principles of "competitive civilization" as Secretary Lane called it (83), the Indian could not even start in the industry or trade because he had no competent knowledge of either spoken or written English.

When the modern reader saw that not one English word was spoken by the Indians in "Indian Camp," he understood why. When Dick Boulton in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" speaks Ojibwa and English, his son Eddy understands both, but Billy Tabeshaw speaks only Ojibwa, the reader also knew what it meant. Yet another important step in transforming the Indian into a full-fledged, civilized American, capable of conducting business that the Indian reformers insisted on was to have him replace the mother-tongues, then termed useless, and teach him spoken and written English.

In the May, 1906, issue of St. Nicholas is a story about a mission school at Pine Ridge agency's Wounded Knee Creek where little Indian girls and boys and adults were taught farming, the white type of household skills, and "how to read and write and to become good citizens" (605). In that period, 7, 430 natives were enrolled in twenty-five industrial, off-reservation schools across the country (Prucha 2: 185). In 1915, as Secretary Lane reminded the National Geographic audience, out of 84, 229 Indian boys and girls, 77, 801 were eligible for school attendance in governmental reservation day and boarding, and non-reservation schools, where English, as the language of instruction, was imposed as the only language of communication among pupils (84). Many, like Michigan's native children who did not live on reservations, were expected to enter the public school system. But, even Secretary Lane admitted that for the entire country, some 15, 906 Indian youngsters of school age were not in attendance.

For Trudy in "Fathers and Sons," saying in English "You shoot, Nickie. Scare him. We see him jump. Shoot him again.... was a long speech for her" (262). When her brother Billy says "I get tired this. What we come? Hunt or what?" the reader understood their limitations (263). Family poverty, white opposition to native children's attendance, the fact that the Indians (particularly the older pupils) were ridiculed by their white schoolmates, but, most of all, the native children's incompetence in English, contributed to poor attendance. Left outside the public school system,

the non-reservation Indian had to cope with the white man's civilization of the industrial era that could not wait for him to adjust and catch up.

As he became dependent on educational services, the non-reservation Indian was forced to rely on public health services for medical intervention in cases he could not handle with traditional medical knowledge. When Nick's doctor-father performs a Caesarean and says in "Indian Camp" that "the nurse should be here from St. Ignace" (19), as well as that he pulled "a squaw through pneumonia" in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" (25), the modern reader could not have failed to understand what it meant. For the population of a little over 300, 000 Indians, reported in the National Geographic Magazine in January, 1915 (75), the Indian Medical Service had 79 regular and 60 contract physicians and 55 nurses (Prucha 2: 855). By 1923, the service operated 77 hospitals, and employed 154 hospital personnel, 177 physicians, 106 nurses and 63 field matrons (Schmeckebier 232). Those Indian mothers who adamantly refused to deliver their babies in an untraditional way in the hospitals, or those natives who had no easy access to medical help ensured by the Indian Medical Service, depended on the public health service, and on fortunate circumstances, sympathies and goodwill of white medical professionals fictionalized in Dr. Adams.

For all the good intentions and accomplishments, Indian assimilation into a uniformly patterned society in thought and behavior proved impossible, but the attempts were devastating for the native. When one of the Garners in "Ten Indians" says "All Indians wear the same kind of pants," the modern reader understood the allusion (27). Forced to abandon the glorious variety of distinct tribal garb, which St. Nicholas in its May, 1906, issue called "picturesque," the reservation Indian had to adopt the government supplied uniform look of pants and shirts for males and skirts and blouses for females (605). The rapid external transformation of non-reservation Indians failed to conceal the ravaged Indian's soul brought on by enforced acculturation. With bonds to land, tribe, language, and identity breaking, male and female bonding suffered irreparable damage, too.

In the scene in "Ten Indians" when Nick's father tells Nick that he saw his Indian girlfriend, Prudence Mitchell, and Frank Washburn "having quite a time... threshing around" (31), and in "Fathers and Sons" when Nick makes love to his Ojibwa girlfriend Trudy in the presence of her brother, Billy, the reader of the 1920s and the 1930s recognized their cultural disorientation (261). For those Ojibwa who remained on reservations, as Densmore recorded on Minnesota's White Earth in the twenties, and were brought up by the elders, traditional restraint, modesty in behavior, and deep respect between the sexes were strictly observed (Chippewa Customs 60-61). Still in the late thirties, among

reservation Ojibwa, rules governing sexual behavior were hardly broken. Intercourse was forbidden before marriage, and the girl's brother acted as her guardian (Landes, Ojibwa Woman 15; Ojibwa Sociology 15, 21). Among reservation Indians who lived close to or among the whites "sexual morality ...was of a rather low order" (Hrdlička 48). The modern reader understood that Nick's Ojibwa friends were becoming like the majority of their white counterparts, like Nick, who broke America's "recognized moral law"; it was the sign of the modern times. "No rules or ordinances," commented Reynolds on the era's impact on conservative, middle-class Oak Parkers, "could hold back the world" (Young Hemingway 8). Moreover, the Indians were being absorbed in that society which was moving away from common Christian religious outlook, which would soon be viewed as spiritually poor, and from which an individual would want to flee. The Indian could not do that, at least not physically.

Unlike the reservation Ojibwa who was in the late twenties still taught by the elders to stay away from alcohol, white man's gift to the Indians (Densmore, Chippewa Customs 60), Hemingway's fictional non-reservation Indians in "Ten Indians" celebrated the most American holiday of all, the Fourth of July, by getting drunk. They have gone far from those Dakota Indians described in 1884 in St. Nicholas who took to celebrating the same holiday as if it were a life-renewing ceremony. When the modern reader read of Indians dead drunk along the road and of "all [Indians] in town getting drunk," he would not have missed the irony nor what the reference meant (31). Alcohol abuse and alcohol related problems among on and off-reservation Indians throughout the country, wherever they came in contact with whites, had been the by-product of Indian acculturation: it represented a continuing, never effectively solved problem for the United States government. Whisky traders and bootleggers were the curse of the frontier and of the reservation, managing illegal trade wherever there were Indians.⁵ In "The Indians Moved Away" Hemingway would say that one Indian "lived alone in the shack and drank painkiller and walked through the woods alone at night. Many Indians were that way" (35). "So that when you go in a place where Indians have lived you smell... the empty painkiller bottles," Hemingway would write in "Fathers and Sons" (266).

The off-reservation Indian was disappearing in the sense that his social and cultural lives ceased to be. The native life of the sophisticated, venerated ages-old harmony between peoples and the universe, fictionalized in "Indian Camp," could not be maintained by isolated individuals. Once the old Indians or those whose inner life remained intact

⁵The problem is discussed in Prucha, 2: 654-56.

went, the rest would be taken into white man's civilization. The non-reservation Indian would soon be dead in a way a human person is whose link to a living civilization had been crushed. And Hemingway would have the Indian die in "The Indians Moved Away" as a suicide, but this time in drunken sleep, "on the Pere Marquette railway tracks and... run over by the midnight train" (35). Nick, for whom Hemingway made the Indian a friend, a play-mate, a soul-mate, and a love-mate, would tell the modern readers in the last story in his fictional life, "Fathers and Sons," that the Indian went gradually. First Nick's father "lived with them," next Nick knew them (267). To the third generation of Adamses the firsthand, Indian experience is not granted. It remains in Nick's memory:

So that when you go in a place where
Indians have lived you smell them gone
and all the empty painkiller bottles and
the flies that buzz do not kill the
sweet-grass smell, the smoke smell and
that other like a fresh-cased marten
skin. Nor any jokes about them nor old
squaws take that away. Nor the sweet
sick smell they get to have. Nor what
they did finally. It wasn't how they
ended. They all ended the same. (267)

In 1933 Hemingway could not have described in a more appropriate way what happened to the non-reservation native. Soon, the Indian would disappear from the concerns, views, and the knowledge of coming generations.

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78